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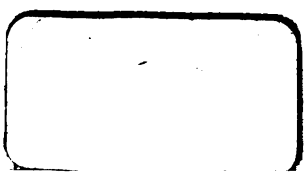

Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

[COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XXIV.]

MEMOIRS

OF

Robert Dudley,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

Written during his Life, and now published from an old Manuscript never printed.

LONDON.

1706.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PRIVATELY PRINTED.

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THE

Epistle Prefatory.

TO

R———— S———— Esq;

SIR,

ALL the Acconnt that I can give of these Memoirs, I send you here. That the following Sheets were written during the Life of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester appears from the tenour of the whole History, which concludes before his coming to be Governor of the Low Countreys, whither he was sent by Queen Elizabeth, as General of the Auxiliary Forces, which she sent to the Relief of the Estates of the Confederate Provinces. No higher Title did the Queen bestow upon him; but the States (as both Grotius and Strada informs) knowing or believing his Power to be irresistible with Queen Elizabeth, and hoping by his means to draw her intirely into the War, resolv'd to be a sufficient Bait for his Ambition, and to offer him that

Sovereignty, with a Title somewhat lower than that which his Mistress had refus'd, and made him Supream Governor, or Stat-holder of the United Provinces, with a Power much Superior to any that has been exercis'd by the succeeding Stat-holders.

This was the last Scene of his Ambition, in which how dexterously he acted his part, is hard to say. For our own Historians have reported little of his Transactions abroad, and Grotius and Strada, who have given the largest Accounts, are so manifestly partial and unjust, both to the Queen, and the whole English Nation, that we may reasonably suspect their Relations of him, whom his Country-men in his time more immediately fear'd and hated.

The Partiality of the first of these, springs manifestly from a desire to cover the notorious Ingratitude of his Country-men to Queen Elizabeth, and the English Nation, to whose generous and disinterested assistance, they entirely owe the Establishment of their Liberty and Religion, and the Excussion of the Spanish Yoke. For this Reason, he not only gives a very unjust Character of the English in general, but wherever the course of this History obliges him to Record their Actions, and to acknowledge the Obligations the Dutch had to them, he always mixes some oblique sinister Insinuation, which may either tarnish the

Glory of the Action, or at least by loading it with some foul under-hand Design, may lighten the obligation thereby laid upon the Dutch.

The latter was an Italian Jesuit, employ'd by, and in the Pay of Spain, and consequently the English, upon a double score, could expect no fair Representation from him, who hated them both as Hereticks accounted, and as Enemies to Spain. But besides the Disadvantages the Earl of Leicester lies under with these two Historians, upon the score of his Nation, they had each of them their particular piques to him; The first because he exercis'd the invidious Power of a Statholder, to which Grotius never was a hearty friend, and the latter, because he was sent in opposition to the Prince of Parma, whom in his History he flatters immoderately, and to raise his Character (which was really great enough not to want such Arts) depresses the Merits of all others. However, they both agree that he was Master of very great Vertues, or at least, seem'd to be. *Egregius virtutum simulator, et qui invisos, atque infelices, Dudleiæ Gentis Spiritus haud ingratâ Comitate velaret;* an exquisite Hypocrite, that was able to cover the odious unhappy temper of the Dudley Family, with good Manners and Affability, says Grotius. *Ver saţilis viri solertia, qua erat Histrio multorum partium, facile ad aliorum mores et vota factitium, ingenium circumflectebat,* He was, says

Strada, such an absolute Master of his own Temper, that he could as he pleas'd, adapt it to any Man's Humour or Designs. Agreeable to this Mezeray calls him *adroit et rusé Courtisan*, a subtle dexterous Courtier, all which argues him to have been a Man of great Abilities, tho' perhaps the use he made of them, contracted such a general Hatred and Envy, as made People suppress his real Vertues, or impute them to Artifice and Design, which might however spring from a generous Disposition.

What ever the Reason was, both Grotius and Strada, by the large elaborate Character, which each gives of him, prepare us for greater things, then they afterwards recount of him, which gives us just ground to suspect, that they have partially and invidiously supprest that part of his Administration of the Low-Countrys, which might tend most to the advantage of his Character. In this Conjecture we are confirm'd by our Observation, that both these Historians, after having described him such both for Person and Parts, for Accomplishments natural and acquir'd, as might justly raise great Expectations of him, are more sollicitous to publish his Crimes done out of the Sphere of their History, (which whether truly or falsly the Malice of his Country-men had furnish'd them with) and to display his Ambition, than to Register any actions of his there, worthy the

Character they give of him, or answering the expectations themselves had rais'd in us.

However, it is on all hands agreed, that he was a Man of a very comly Person, a noble and graceful aspect, an ingaging behaviour and courtly address, and of a Wit capable at once of entertaining agreeably, and designing deeply, which together with a Delivery and Presence, which had in 'em something at once great and engaging, commanded attention and respect. *Inerat vultui Sermonique amœna quædam Majestas*, says Grotius of him, than which no one natural endowment fits a Man more for Popularity; and accordingly the same Historian informs us, that at his first arrival he gain'd the Hearts both of the Nobility and People. Yet all this ended in an abortive design upon the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, in which it is more reasonable to believe, that the bright Parts are invidiously suppress by the Relaters, than that there were not many shining strokes of Politicks in so great a design, laid and managed by so able a Head. That such there were, his gaining the Clergy and People so intirely, is a sufficient Argument, that both the Historians, more sollicitous of Recording Events, (according to the Vulgar Method of those that write History) have neglected the more instructive part, which is the means that he us'd in so great an attempt.

But 'tis probable, that neither the Power of the

Spaniard, nor the Fickleness of the Dutch Nobility, who began to Cabal against him, were sufficient to oblige him to abandon a Design, that flatter'd his Ambition so much, but that it was either his own fear of being supplanted in the favour of his Mistress at home, or the Jealousie, which those that envied his Greatness, and fear'd that such an accession might establish it, that occasion'd his being recall'd. Such a Design was undoubtedly suitable to his vast Ambition; and could he have manag'd his Mistress into a Consent, the Success had not been very doubtful. For as he had entirely won the Hearts of the Populace and Clergy; the Faction of the Nobility however reluctant, could not have withstood the Force, which he might at pleasure have pour'd in from England. It is therefore more than probable, that his Disappointment came only from hence, and that Queen Elizabeth who would not suffer his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, to accept the Crown of Poland, might likewise deny him a Sovereignty, which she thought fit her self to refuse.

Several good Reasons might be given, why she wou'd not permit Leicester to take, that she her self had declin'd to accept. First, he could not have succeeded without her engaging heartily and intirely in his Support, which wou'd have brought England to have been Principal in that War,

and consequently have brought it into the main expence to avoid which she had her self refus'd the Sovereignty, and did again soon after. Grotius, who abounds in oblique insinuations, to the Dishonour of that Queen, and this Nation endeavours to fix a Suspicion upon her, as if the attempts of Leicester were under-hand encourag'd by her, and undertaken for her, *Nec tamen quorundam effugit suspiciones quasi consensu Publico delatum honorem et recusatum Plebis, ac Militum seditionibus debere mallet.* This is a plain spice of that malignity, which this Author magnifests towards this Nation upon all occasions. For had the Queen been ambitious of adding those Provinces to her Dominions, they were twice offer'd her by solemn Embassy, and her Parliament (as himself confesses) had advis'd the acceptance, and promis'd Supplies to maintain it. And, considering the universal affection and inclination of the People of those Provinces to submit themselves to her, it had been impossible for any of the Nobility, that shou'd have oppos'd her Design, to have withstood the Rage of the People, back'd by such Forces as he had there, or might have sent over.

But perhaps, the Queen was as jealous of Leicester, and as willing to give a check to his Ambition, as they could be. He had aspired to the Queen's Bed; and though the Sovereignty of

those Provinces might of it self be a Bait sufficient to tempt a Man of his Ambition. Yet perhaps it might be the more alluring to him, as it had been before to the Duke of Alençon, as a probable step to that Match, of which he had been so long ambitious. This the Queen, who, out of Jealousie of dividing her Power and Authority, had rejected all the Matches, that had been offered her, was resolved to prevent, and would not engage the Nation in a War upon the Score of a Subject, which she had refus'd to do upon her own.

That Leicester did entertain such hopes, not only the following Sheets, which carry manifest Tokens of being the oldest account of him, but all Historians, Domestick and Foreign agree, and that those hopes drew him into at least the Suspicion of committing divers Crimes, wherewith he stands charg'd, not only in the following Sheets, but in most Historians, that have had occasion to mention him, and might speak of him without Fear, amongst whom I find such Harmony with the following Papers, that it has mov'd me to doubt, whether they had not been seen by those Historians, and whether those Particulars, which they give of him, were not drawn from 'em. That these Papers were Written before he was made Governor of the United Provinces, may fairly be collected from their Silence on that Article, which was too plausible a Topick for Accusation to have

been omitted by an Enemy, and such this Writer seems to be. And that these were not Written for Closet Memoirs, appears by the Stile and Manner of them, and therefore it is not improbable, that though the Fear of his Power hindred them from appearing Publickly, that they might creep about privately in Manuscript, and so reach even to Foreign Parts.

These Memoirs charge the Earl of Leicester with divers Crimes, and in this Country, where such things are not usually practised, appear very horrid, and almost incredible, which nevertheless seem to have found Credit abroad, where the Practises of inordinate Ambition are better known; insomuch that Mezeray, in that short Account, which he gives of the Earl of Leicester, mentions particularly two or three Facts recited in these Memoirs, and seems to point at others. He is here said to have procur'd the Death of his Wife, and the Poisoning of the Earl of Essex, and first to have attempted to Poison, and then to Assassinate Monsieur Simier, for discovering to the Queen his Marriage with the Countess of Essex. To the two first, he seems only to point indefinitely in the Character that he gives of him. Leicester, *homme de peu de noblesse, a ce qu'on luy reprochoit, et capable de tous crimes pour satisfaire son ambition et sa paillardise, au reste adroit et rusé Courtisan.* In which Character, by reproach-

ing him with Sticking at no Crime to satisfie either his Ambition or Lust. This Historian seems to point at his two principal Blemishes (if he was really guilty.) The Murther of his Wife, and of the Earl of Essex, the first Sacrific'd to his Ambition, to make way for his Pretentions to the Queen, the latter to his Lust. But in the particular of Monsieur Simier, the French Author agrees so exactly with these Memoirs, that but for the difference between 'em in the Persons, whom they name as appointed to commit the Assassinate, the Memoirs naming one Robin Tyder, and Mezeray one Fervaques, I should have thought he had taken the Story from hence. Both agree that Simier was Embassador from the Duke of Alençon to the Queen, sent to Negotiate the Marriage between 'em, and that Leicester attempted, first to Poison him, and then to have him Assassinated, for having discovered to the Queen his Marriage to the Countess Dowager of Essex. One thing however must not be forgotten in justification of the Earl, tho' it may shake a little the Credit of these Memoirs, which is, that Cardinal Chatillion, who had Negotiated the like Affair before Monsieur Simier dying of Poison upon his Return at Southampton, as Mezeray says, at Canterbury, according to these Memoirs, which do (with an, as it is thought) endeavour to lay the Guilt of it upon the Earl, whereas Mezeray,

who seems to have been not at all inclined to spare him, relates the Circumstances of the Cardinal's Death, and of the Execution and Confession of his Servant afterwards at the Gallows in France, yet does not in the least squint upon the Earl, as guilty of the Fact. On the other hand, it is not improbable, that the Death of the Cardinal was procur'd by Order of the Court of France, or at least of the Faction of the League, for endeavouring to promote a Match between the King of Navarre and the Queen of England, which the Court of France, and that Faction were as much concern'd to disappoint, as the Earl of Leicester himself.

Upon the same Foot of Credit stands the Account of his intended Assassination of the Earl of Ormond, and the Poisoning of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton; both which Facts are particularly told, especially that of the Earl of Ormond, in which, not only the Occasion and Manner of the Attempt are exactly deliver'd, and the Name and Reward of the design'd Assassin set down, and all is backt with an Appeal to the Earl of Ormond, himself, then living, for the whole Truth of the Story. Yet since that Voucher is not now to be consulted, and the Fact, tho' so considerable is not Register'd by other Authors, it rests upon the single Credit of the Writer of these Memoirs, whose Name, we not knowing, are able to say no

more of him, than that by the Bitterness of his Expressions, and the raking together so many foul Facts, we may be sure, that he was an implacable Enemy to the Earl of Leicester, or at least a Retainer to some great Person that was. However, the Elegancy and Perspicuity of his Stile for that time, the Strength of his Reasoning, and the Depth of his Judgment, as well as the Solidity and Extent of his Reflections, which seem Prophetically to reach many Cases, even in our Times; plainly shew him to have been a Person of great Abilities and Experience, as his Acquaintance with the Intriegues of great Men, and the Secret Affairs of State, but especially such a daring and dangerous Attempt upon the Favorite in the height of his Prosperity, from whom, considering the number of his Spies, he could not expect to be long conceal'd, argue him to have been a Man of Interest and Employment, as well as Courage, to whom such things could be so minutely known, and who dar'd to utter 'em in such a manner, at that time, when few People thought it safe so much as to whisper any thing to the Disadvantage of the Earl of Leicester.

The other Actions of the Earl of Leicester, put down in these Memoirs, may perhaps have been somewhat strain'd, as 'tis probable they always will, when related by a professed Adversary, which Consideration apart, I see no great reason

to question the Truth of Facts laid down. For, as they are in the Main, no more than a Man can expect from a Person of his Character, so they only shew us to what an Excess of Presumption and Extravagance, immoderate Ambition will rise, when buoy'd up and supported by Exhorbitant Favour, of which parallel Instances might be given from the History and Observation of all Times and Nations.

That, which seems to me most strange in all his Story, is, that he having offered so much Matter for History should nevertheless imploy so few Pages of it, and these almost all within one Year only of his Life, and that spent too in a Foreign Part, and best and most largely Written by Foreign Historians, who were ignorant (as appears by these Memoirs) of the most instructive part of his Life. The Ministry of Wolsey, Cromwell and other great Ministers and Favourites make some Figure in our History (tho' perhaps nothing like what they ought) but Leicester's, whose Influence, Power and Authority exceeded 'em all, both in Extent and Duration is past over in Silence, or slubber'd negligently o'er with a general Abstract: "That he was the Son of a Father, that lost his Head for Treason, in which himself too was involved and condemned to die, but that he was pardoned by Queen Elizabeth, and restored in Blood, taken into her Favour,

made Master of Her Horse, Lord Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, that he was a Man of a beautiful Person, a Noble Deportment, fine Address, ingaging Conversation, ready Wit, great Cunning, and unbounded Ambition, that he was an Encourager of Soldiers and Scholars, was recommended for a Husband to the Queen of Scots, pretended to the Queen of England, disappointed all his Rivals, and broke all Matches propos'd, got to be Statholder and Captain General of the United Provinces, aim'd at the Sovereignty, was recall'd by the Queen, made Captain General of all Her Land Forces, and died at last in full Possession of Her Favour, without ever arriving at the Point, to which his Ambition tended, or suffering any one to arrive at it."

This summary Account, however short and unsatisfactory, is to all Intents and Purposes, as full and sufficient as our Histories, or those of other Countries afford, in which we find only a Character and Description of his Person and Disposition, with a jejune Relation of some of the Principal Events, in which he was concern'd, which amount to little more than a bare Enumeration, so that almost as good a History of him might have been drawn upon Canvass.

The little notice that is taken of the Transactions of so great, so durable, and so absolute a Favorite, in so prosperous and celebrated a Reign,

is none of the least instances, how perfunctorily our History is written, when one of the most surprizing parts of our Story is either so little understood, or so industriously supprest by the Writers of our own Country, and when all that we know of so great a Statesman is what has been clandestinely transmitted to us.

It is strange, that so many great and enormous Outrages of an irregular violent Ambition and Lust, as well as the many Finesses, that he must have used to preserve his Credit with a Princess, so discerning and so jealous as Queen Elizabeth, shou'd escape the publick notice of History, and that such Acts of Power, so extraordinary, and so invidious in a Subject, as to provoke 'em to be so severely reflected on in his own time, while the height of his Credit made it dangerous, to speak the plain Truth of him, shou'd find no one Authentically to Record 'em, after his Death, had made Truth secure, and Flattery unprofitable. Two or three Conjectural Reasons might be offer'd for this Silence, which, if admitted, make for the Credit of these Memoirs; either that the Power of some Surviving Great Men, who were engaged with him, or rais'd by him, might last so long as to Awe Men till the Subject was Antiquated, and Men no longer curious, or inquisitive about him; or that his Interest in the Learned Men of that Time, of whom he is said to have been a Patron,

prevailed with them to be silent, concerning a Benefactor, of whom Gratitude would not suffer 'em to speak Ill nor Truth to speak well. Or, lastly, the great Reverence, which every Body bare to his Nephew Sir Philip Sidney's Memory.

However, after his Death, came out a Poem, called Leicester's Ghost, which, not only avers all the Particulars, which are contain'd in these Memoirs, but recites divers other things which seem to have been Transacted by him, since the Writing of those Papers; and though that Poem pretend to a great deal of Fairness and Impartiality, and Cites these Memoirs, as an account of which all was not to be received, yet it is so far from proving any part to be untrue, that it does in a manner vouch every thing by the Repetition and feigned Confession out of the Mouth of the Ghost; however it seems a fair Proof, that this Piece, whether Written impartially or not, was the Genuine Product of these Times. That poem appears to be Written not long after the Death of Queen Elizabeth, and to Comprize this History, to which the Poet affects the Character of Impartial, as appears by the following Lines.

I am not Partial, but give him his due,
And to his Soul I wish Eternal Health:
Nor do I think all Written Tales are true
That are inserted in his Commonwealth:
What others Wrote before, I do survive,
But am not like to those incens'd with Hate,

And I as plainly Write, so do I strive
To Write the Truth, not wronging his Estate,
Of whom it may be said, and censur'd well,
He both in Vice and Virtue did excel.

If the Poet's Character of himself, and his own Sincerity be true, there cannot be a greater Justification of these Memoirs, notwithstanding he does not believe all things inserted in 'em be true. For if he did believe all to be true, that he has thought fit to repeat, there is not a material Circumstance of any Moment in 'em, which he does not vouch.

That the Author of these Verses was alive in the time of Leicester, may be argued, not only from the old Stile and Manner, but by that Phrase in the Verses here cited; "I do survive," which imply's Out-living, a Term not used by, or of, Cotemporaries.

From hence we may gather how lamely or partially the History of these Times have been Written, and may safely conclude, that with proper Grains of Allowance, these Memoirs, by whomsoever Written, are no contemptible Piece of History, since they give us light into such remarkable Transactions, concerning which we had been absolutely in the dark without 'em.

There is an old English Book, Written about the time, that these Memoirs seem to have been, which now passes through the Hands of old

Women and Children only, and is taken for a pleasant delightful Tale, but is by wiser Heads thought to be an Enigmatical History of the Earl of Leicester and his Family, which he that compares with these Memoirs, will not take to be an idle Conjecture, there are so many Passages so easily illustrable, by comparing it with these Memoirs. The Book, I mean, is the "History of Reynard the Fox," in which the Author, not daring to Write his History plainly, probably, for fear of his Power, has shadowed his Exploits under the feigned Adventures and Intrigues of Brutes, in which, not only the Violence and Rapaciousness, but especially the Craft and Dissimulation of the Earl of Leicester is excellently set forth.

If he was guilty of half what these Memoirs charge him with, or even of what Foreign Histories mention, he must have been Master of greater Cunning than any Minister, that this Nation has ever produced, either before or since him, not only to have defended himself, but to have maintained his Power and greatness to the last, under such an Accumulation of excessive Guilt and Envy.

The exorbitant Credit and Power which this Favourite had arrived to by Queen Elizabeth, had been sufficient to have overthrown and ruined at any time any Man of less ability to manage it than

he, and his Insolence alone would have drawn upon him such a powerful weight of Disgust, as would have crushed any other Person. He had at one time so intirely Engrossed the Queen to himself, that scarce any body had Access to Her, but through his Means. Her Domesticks, Her Council, and generally almost all Her Officers were his Creatures, and of his raising, and whoever had the Courage to oppose or thwart his Designs, rarely escaped his Revenge, of which the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Sussex, two of our greatest Noblemen were mighty Instances. On this Success of Favour, he surfeited, even to Riot; so that as Mezeray reports, that he used to make it his Boast among his Friends, that like an other Vulcan, he had taken the Queen in Toils unseen, and would keep her in a sure, though invisible Prison. This must be meant of the Guard of his own Creatures, Spies and Dependants which he had planted about Her, by whom he hoped to manage her as he pleased; an Attempt, however it succeeded with him, has been fatal to almost all that have ever attempted it before or since, either in this, or any other Country, and can scarce be justified in any Person to Prudence, who has no design to usurp the Sovereignty, and to fix it in himself or his Family. But it appears, that the Father of this Man attempted to bring the Crown into his Family, by the Match which

he made between the Lady Jane Gray and his Eldest Son the Lord Guilford, and then endeavouring to set her Title up against that of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, which Attempt cost that Lady (otherwise very much to be bewailed) himself and his Son their Heads upon a Scaffold. These Memoirs accuse his Son of the same Design, tho' Providence did not suffer his Plot to ripen so far as his Fathers. Yet it shews that Ambition (which would not snffer him to take warning by the narrow escape he had from his Father's Fate) was his predominate Passion, and that he still drove on to the same End, tho' as he does not appear to have been so brave, so he managed with more Caution, which perhaps was his Security.

His Ambition however hurried him on to those things (not including the Blood wherewith he is charged, nor his double Marriage with the Lady Sheffield and the Lady Essex, by the former of which his Descendents are yet alive) which have generally been fatal to Presumptuous Favourites.

Many Instances might be produced of Favourites, who without being chargeable with any great Crime, have been ruined by their own Insolence and Presumption only Peircy Gaveston, the two Spencers, and even Cardinal Woolsey himself, are instances in our History, not to mention any latter.

But Monsieur Le Vassor, in his excellent History of Lewis the 13th of France, has given us such a perfect instance of the danger of presuming so far upon favour in the Story of the Mareschal D'Ancre and his Lady, that scarce a more compleat Example can be set before our Eyes of the Insufficience of Favour, when invidious Power is insolently used, and thereby Enemies great, numerous and hearty, are provoked to humble it.

Those that can read the Original, will find there a Story, as instructive, and as handsomely told, as any in modern History and Reflections, as just thereupon. He observes, that want of Moderation in Prosperity and Presuming too far upon the Favour of Mary de Medicis, Queen Regent of France, was the occasion of their Ruin, as that Favour had been of their Rise.

Conchini, having married a Lady of the Bedchamber to Mary de Medicis, who was her Favourite and Confident, was, through the Interest of his Wife rais'd to the degree of Mareschal of France, and thence by means of his Wife, who had an absolute ascendant over the Spirit of the Queen, to be prime Minister, and to dispose of all the Governments and great Places (of which that Court had abundance) to gain Creatures to himself, and to draw off from others such useful Instruments as Preferment could gain. This drew upon him the Envy and Hatred of the Princes of

the Blood, and other great Men, who had in Indignation, the excessive Insolence of a Man so suddenly and so highly raised, and made them joyn against him, even to the uniting of those, who in every thing else they had separate Views of. They had in vain tryed to abate his Power with the Queen Regent, but that proving unsuccessful, the attempt only raised his Presumption, and made him contemn his Adversaries; and being irritated with their opposition to work the Queen up to such a pitch of Resentment, as to arrest the Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the Blood, and whose opposition he most apprehended, and to clap him into the Bastile; which stroke (as he thought) of Security, contributed perhaps most to his Ruin. For tho' they who procured it were not of that Prince's Party; yet such an extraordinary act of Power rendred them so fearful of him, that they thought themselves not safe till they had dispatched him. This was done by Methods so extraordinary and unjustifiable, that had the Cause been sufficient to have warranted the seeking of his Destruction, the means cou'd never have been defended before an impartial Judge. For not content by Assassination to have taken off the Mareschal, they formed a Process against his Lady, and having brought her to Tryal and Sentence, with all possible Circumstances of Ignominy, an aggravation of her

Affliction, at last took off her Head, burnt her Body, and scattered her Ashes in the Air. The Historian at the foot of all this account finds nothing real to charge either of them with, but Avarice and Insolence, all the rest of the Accusation, on which their Process was form'd, being manifestly either forg'd or trifling, so that it appears plainly, that unpopular Greatness and Insolence brought them to an end, which they had, not for any attempt against the State deserved. The Historian discharges them from any such Guilt, and thinks that their displacing great Men so freely, to make room for their own Creatures and Dependants was their crime, upon which he makes the following Remarks. *Si c'est là un crime d'Etat, il faut couper desormais la tete a tous les Favoris, a tous les Ministres, a tous ceux qui ont du Credit, à la Cour. C'est un estrange desordre à la Verité, que des Gens Eloignent ou privent des Emplois par des Intrigues, et souvent par de noires Calomnies ceux qui servent, ou qui pouroient servir utilement la Patrie : Mais comment l'empecherez vous?*

This is an unsuccessful unfortunate Instance of that which the Earl of Leicester's great dexterity carried him triumphantly through.

But whether his Fortune be more inviting than the miscarriages of so many others (under less obnoxious Circumstances) are forbidding, is a

matter of so nice Speculation, that Fear or Ambition will probably over-rule the Consideration in those, that may at any time be laid by Fortune, under the like Temptation. However, these Papers supply a great Chasm in our History, and for that they are recommended to your Reading, who have your Liberty to believe of the Fact, as you are convinc'd. The rest of his History is not worth extracting, and it is time to ask your Pardon from

Your humble Servant,

J. D.

SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

NOT long before last Christmas, I was requested by a Letter from a very Worshipful Grave Gentleman (whose Son was my Pupil in Cambridge) to repair with my said Scholar to a certain House of his near London, and there to pass over the Holy-days in his Company. When I came to the aforesaid House by London, I found there among other Friends an ancient Man that professed the Law, with whom at divers former times I had been well acquainted.

One Day then of the Christmas, we three retiring our selves after Dinner into a long Gallery for our Recreation (as often as we were accustomed to do, when others went to Cards, and other Pastimes) this Lawyer by chance had in hand a little Book then newly set forth, containing, " A Defence of the Publick Justice done of late in England upon divers Priests and other Papists for Treason." Which Book the Lawyer had read to himself a little before, and was now putting it up into his Pocket: But the Gentleman, my Friend, who had read over the same once or twice before in my Company, would needs take the same into his hands again, and asked the Lawyer his Judgment upon the Book.

The Lawyer answered, that it was not ill Penned in his Opinion, to prove the guiltiness of some Persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in general, That the Papists, both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with Defence and Increase of their Religion, do consequently wish and labour some Change in the Estate; but yet whether so far forth, and in so deep a degree of proper Treason, as here in this Book, both in General and Particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth he) is somewhat hard I ween for you or me (in respect of some other difference betwixt us) to judge or discern with indifferency.

Nay, truly (said the Gentleman) for my part I think not so; for that Treason is Treason in what Religion soever, and for my self, I protest that I bear the

honest Papist (if there be any) no Malice for his deceived Conscience, whereof among others, your self can be a Witness; marry his Practices against the State I cannot in any wise digest; and much less may the Common wealth bear the same whereof we all depend, being a Sin of all other the most heinous, and least pardonable: And therefore seeing in this you grant the Papist both in general and abroad and at home, and in particular such as are Condemned, Executed, and named in this Book to be guilty, how can you insinuate as you do, that there is more presumed and inforced upon them by this Book, than there is just cause to do.

Good Sir (said the Lawyer) I stand not here to examine the Deeds of my Superiors, or to defend the Guilty, but wish heartily rather their Punishment that have deserved the same. Only this I say for the Explanation of my former Speech, that Men of a different Religion from the State wherein they live, may be said to deal against the State in two sorts: The one by dealing for the Increase of their said different Religion, which is always either directly or indirectly against the State: Directly, when the said Religion containeth any Point or Article directly impugning the said State, as perhaps you will say, that the Roman Religion doth against the State now present in England in the Point of Supremacy. And indirectly, for every different Religion divideth in a sort, and draweth from the State: In that there is

no Man, who in his heart would not wish to have the chief Governor and State to be of his Religion if he could, and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that: And in this kind, not only those whom you call Busie Papists in England, but also those whom we call Hot Puritans among you (whose difference from the State, especially in Matters of Government is very well known) may be called all Traytors in my Opinion: For that every one of these indeed do labour indirectly (if not more) against the State, in how much soever each one endeavoureth to increase his Party or Faction, that desireth a Governor of his own Religion.

And in this Case also are the Protestants in France and Flanders under Catholick Princes and Calvinists (as they are called) under the Duke of Saxony, who is a Lutheran, the Lutherans under Casimire that favoureth the Calvinists; the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperor of Constantinople, under the Sophy, under the Great Cham of Tartary, and other Princes that agree not with them in Religion. All which Subjects do wish (no doubt) in their Hearts, that they had a Prince and State of their own Religion instead of him which now governeth them, and consequently in this first Sense, they may be called all Traytors, and every Act they do for Advancement of their said different Religion (dividing between the State and them) tendeth to Treason, which their Princes supposing, do sometimes make

divers of their Acts Treasonable, or Punishable for Treason: But yet as long as they break not forth into the second kind of Treason, which containeth some actual Attempt, or Treaty against the Life of the Prince or the State by Rebellion, or otherwise, we do not properly condemn them for Traytors, though they do some Acts of their Religion, made Treason by the Princes Laws, who is of a different Faith.

And so to apply this to my purpose, I think, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of Treason, as well the Zealous Papists, as also the Hot Puritans in England may well be called and proved Traytors: But in the second sort (whereof we speak properly at this time) it cannot be so precisely answered, for that there may be both guilty and guiltless in each Religion; and as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this Point, so you cannot condemn all Papists, as long as you take me and some others to be as we are.

I grant your Distinctions of Treason to be true (said the Gentleman) as also your Application thereof to the Papists and Puritans, (as you call them) not to want Reason, if there be any of them that mislike the present State, as perhaps there be. Although for my part I do think these two kinds of Treasons which you have put down to be rather divers Degrees than divers kinds; wherein I will refer me to the Judgment of our Cambridge Friend here present; whose Skill is more in Logical Distinctions: But ye t

my Reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree unto the other; not differing in Nature, but rather in Time, Ability and Opportunity. For if (as in the former Examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turk, and other Christians under Princes of a different Religion; and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you term them) in England, (for this word shall pass between us for distinction sake) have such Alienation of Mind for their present Regiment, and do covet so much a Governor and State of their own Religion, then no doubt they are also resolved to imploy their Forces for accomplishing and bringing about their Desires, if they had opportunity; and so being now in the first Degree or Kind of Treason, do want but Occasion or Ability to break into the second.

True, Sir, (said the Lawyer) if there be no other Cause nor Circumstance that may withhold them.

And what Cause or Circumstance, I pray you, (said the Gentleman) may keep them, when they shall have Ability and Opportunity to do a thing which they so much desire. Divers Causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially, and above all other (if it be at home in their own Country) the fear of Servitude under Foreign Nations may restrain them from such Attempts as we see in Germany, that both the Catholicks and the Protestants would join together against any Stranger that should offer Danger to their Liberty; and so they did against Charles the 5th

And in France, not long ago, albeit the Protestants were up in Arms against their King, and could have been content by the help of us in England to have put him down, and placed another of their own Religion: Yet when they saw us once seized of New-haven, and so like to proceed to the Recovery of some part of our States on that side the Sea, they quickly joined with their own Catholicks again to expel us.

In Flanders likewise though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestants, especially for the Defence of their Religion against the Spaniards: Yet we see how dainty divers great and chief Protestants of Antwerp, Gaunt and Bruges, were so soon as they put them in the least Fear of Subjection to the French.

And as for Portugal, I have heard some of the chiefest Catholicks amongst them say in this last Contention about their Kingdom, that rather than they would suffer the Castillian to come in upon them, they would be content to admit whatsoever Aids of a contrary Religion to themselves, or to adventure whatsoever Alteration in Religion, or other Inconvenience might befal them by that means, rather than indanger their Subjection to their Ambitious Neighbour.

The like is reported in divers Histories of the Grecians at this day, who do hate so much the Name and Dominion of the Latins, as they had rather to endure all the Miseries which daily they suffer under

the Turk for their Religion, then by calling for Aid from the West to hazard their Subjection to the said Latins. So that you see by these Examples, that Fear and Horror of External Subjection, may stay Men in all States, and consequently, both Papists and Puritans in the State of England, from passing to the second kind or degree of Treason, albeit, they were never so deep in the first, and had both Ability, Time, Will and Opportunity for the other.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said, that this seemed unto me most clear, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that albeit, the most part of Papists in general might be said to deal against the State of England at this day, in that they deal so earnestly for the Maintenance and Increase of their Religion, and so to incur some kind of Treason, yet perhaps not so far forth, nor in so deep a degree of proper Treason, as in this Book is presumed or inforced, though for my part, (said I) I do not see that the Book presumeth or inforceth all Papists in general to be properly Traytors, but only such as in particular are therein named, or that are by Law Attainted, Condemned or Excluded; and what will you say to those in particular (quoth I.)

Surely (answered the Lawyer) I must say of those much after the manner which I spake before, that some here named in this Book are openly known to have been in the second degree or kind of Treason, as

Westmerland, Norton, Saunders, and the like: But divers others (namely, the Priests and Seminaries, which of late have suffered) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their Arraignments, or heard protested by them at their Deaths, or gather by Reason, or Discourse by my self (for that no Foreign Prince, or wise Counsellor would ever commit so great Matters of State to such Instruments.) I cannot, I say, but think, that to the Wise of our State that had the doing of this Business, the first Degree of Treason (wherein, no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away, especially in such suspicious Times as these are, and to the end that being hanged for the first they should never be in danger to fall into the second, nor to draw other Men to the same, which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my Peace to hear what the Gentleman would answer, who walked up and down two whole turns in the Gallery without yielding any word again, and then staying, upon the suddain cast his Eyes sadly upon us both, and said.

My Masters, howsoever this be, which indeed appertaineth not unto us to discover or judge of, but rather to perswade our selves, that the State hath reason to do as it doth, and that it must oftentimes as well prevent Inconveniences as remedy the same, when they are happened: Yet for my part, I must

confess unto you, that upon some Considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small Grief of the Differences amongst us (which you term divers and different Religions) for which we are driven of necessity to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would be no great Malefactors. I know the cause of this Difference is grounded upon a Principle not too easie to cure, which is the Judgment and Conscience of a Man, whereunto obeyeth at length his Will and Affection, howsoever he may for a time otherwise dissemble outwardly: I remember your Speech before of the doubtful and dangerous Inclination of those who live discontented in a State of a different Religion especially, when either indeed, or in their own Conceits they are hardly dealt withal, and where every Man's particular Punishment is taken to reach to the Cause of the whole.

I am not ignorant how that Misery procureth Amity, and the Opinion of Calamity moveth Affection of Mercy and Compassion, even towards the Wicked. The better Fortune is always subject to Envy, and he that suffereth is thought to have the better Cause. My Experience of the diver Reigns and Proceedings of King Edward, Queen Mary, and of this our Most Gracious Sovereign hath taught me not a little touching the Sequel of these Affairs. And finally, my good Friends, I must tell you plain (quoth he and this he spake with great Asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either those

Differences were not amongst us at all, or else that they were so temperately on all Parts pursued, as the Common State of our Country, the Blessed Reign of Her Majesty, and the Common Cause of true Religion, were not indangered thereby: But now ——— and there he brake off and turn'd aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his Peace and departed, he stepped after him, and taking him by the Gown, said merrily, Sir, all Men are not of your Complexion, some are of more quick and stirring Spirits, and do love to Fish in Water that is troubled, for that they do participate the Black-moors Humour that dwells in Guinea; whereof I suppose you have heard and seen in this Land, whose Exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch and seek; the other, and always the stronger to make Money of the weaker for the time. But now if in England we should live in Peace and Unity of the State as they do in Germany, notwithstanding these Differences of Religion, and that the one shou'd not prey upon the other, then should the great Faulcons for the Field, (I mean the Favourites of the Time) fail whereon to feed, which were an Inconvenience as you know.

Truly, Sir, said the Gentleman I think you rove nearer the Mark than you are aware. For if I be not deceived the very ground of much of these Broils whereof we talk is but a very Prey, not in the Mind of the Prince or State, whose Intentions, no doubt be most just and holy, but in the greedy imagination, or

subtil Conceit of him, who at this present, in respect of our Sins, is permitted by God to tyrannise both Prince and State; and being himself of no Religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our Differences in Religion, to the fatting of himself, and the Ruin of the Realm. For whereas by the common Distinction now received in Speech, there are three notable Differences of Religion in the Land, the two Extreams whereof are the Papists and the Puritan, and the Religious Protestant obtaining the Mean, this Fellow, being of neither, maketh his Gain of all: And as he seeketh a Kingdom by the one Extream, and Spoil by the other, so he useth the Authority of the third, to compass the first two, and the Countermine of each to the overthrow of all three.

To this I answered, in good sooth, Sir, I see now where you are, you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary Talk and Conference in the University. For I know that you mean my Lord of Leicester, who is the Subject of all pleasant Discourses at this Day throughout the Realm.

Not so pleasant as pitiful (answered the Gentleman) if all Matters and Circumstances were well considered, except any Man take pleasure to jest at our own Miseries, which are like to be greater by his Iniquity (if God avert it not) than by all the Wickedness of England besides, he being the Man that by all probability is like to be the Bane and fatal Destiny of our State, with the Aversion of true Religion, whereof

by indirect Means he is the greatest Enemy that the Land doth nourish.

Now, verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants Opinion of him, what shall I say for his Merits towards the Papists: Who for as much as I can perceive do take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his Gain he was some Years their secret Friend against you, until by his Friends he was perswaded (and chiefly by the Lord North by way of Policy, as the said Lord boasteth in hope of greater Gain) to step over to the Puritans against us both, whom, notwithstanding it is probable, that he loveth as much as he doth the rest.

You know the Bear's Love (said the Gentleman) which is all for his own Paunch, and this Bear-whelp turneth all to his own Commodity, and for greediness thereof will overturn all if he be not stopped or muzled in time.

And surely unto me is a strange Speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but only that I do attribute it unto the just Punishment of God for our Sins) that in so Wise and Vigilant a State as ours is, and in a Country so well acquainted, and beaten with such Dangers, a Man of such a Spirit as he is known to be, of so extream Ambition, Pride, Falshood and Treachery, so born, so bred up, so nusled in Treasons from his Infancy, descending of a Tribe of Traitors, and Fleshed in Conspiracies against the Royal Blood of King Henry's Children in his tender Years, and

exercised ever since in Drifts the same, by the Blood and Ruin of divers others, a Man so well known to bear Secret Malice against Her Majesty, for Causes Irreconcileable, and most deadly Rancor against the best and wisest Counsellors of her Highness: That such a one, I say, so hateful to God and Man, and so markable to the simplest Subjects of this Land by the Publick Ensigns of his Traiterous purpose should be suffered so many Years without Check to aspire to Tyranny by most manifest Ways, and to possess himself (as now he hath done) of Court, Counsel and Country without Controulment, so that nothing wanteth to him but only his Pleasure, the Day already conceived in his Mind to dispose as he list, both of Prince, Crown, Realm and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it ministreth not a little Mervail unto many, whereof your Worship is not the first, nor the tenth Person of Account, which I have heard discourse and complain: But what shall we say hereunto; there is no Man, that ascribes not this unto the singular Benignity and most Bountiful Nature of Her Majesty, who measuring other Men by her own Heroical and Prince-like Sincerity, cannot easily suspect a Man so much bounden unto Her Grace as he is, nor remove Her Confidence from the Place where She heaped so infinite Benefits.

No doubt (said the Gentleman) but this Gracious and Sweet Disposition of Her Majesty is the true

Original Cause thereof: Which Princely Disposition, as in Her Highness it deserveth all rare Commendations, so lieth the same open to many Dangers oftentimes, when so benign a Nature meeteth with Ingrate and Ambitious Persons: Which Observation perhaps moved Her Majesties Most Noble Grandfather and Father (two Renowned Wise Princes) to withdraw sometimes upon the suddain their great Favour from certain Subjects of high Estate. And Her Majesty may use her own most Excellent Wisdom and Memory, and call to mind the manifold Examples, and perilous Haps fallen to divers Princes by too much Confidence in obliged Proditors with whom the name of a Kingdom weigheth more than all the Duty, Obligation, Honesty or Nature in the World. Would God Her Majesty could see the continual Fears that be in Her Faithful Subject's Hearts, whilst that Man is about Her Noble Person, so well able and likely (if the Lord avert it not) to be the Calamity of Her Princely Blood and Name. The Talk will never out of many Mouths and Minds, that divers ancient Men of this Realm, and one a Wise Gentleman, and now a Counsellor, had with a certain Friend of his, touching the Presage and deep Impression, which Her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir John Dudley to be the ruin in time of his Majesties Royal House and Blood, which thing was like to have been fulfilled soon after (as all the World knoweth) upon the Death of King Edward, by the

said Dudley, this Man's Father, who at one Blow procured to dispatch from all Possession of the Crown, all the three Children of the said Noble King, and yet in the midst of those Bloody Practices against Her Majesty that now is, and Her Sister (wherein also this Fellow's Hand was so far as for his Age he could thrust the same) within sixteen Days before King Edward's Death, and he knowing belike, that the King should Die, wrote most flattering Letters to the Lady Mary (as I heard by them who then were with her) promising all Loyalty and true Service unto her after the Decease of her Brother, with no less painted Words than this Man doth now use to Queen Elizabeth.

So dealt he then with the most dear Children of his Good King and Master, by whom he had been no less Exalted and Trusted than this Man is by Her Majesty, and so deeply dissembled he then when he had in hand the Plot to destroy them both. And what then? May we not fear and doubt of this his Son, who in Outragious Ambition, and Desire of Reign is not inferior to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but far more Insolent, Cruel, Vindicative, Expert, Potent, Subtill, Fine and Fox-like than ever he was? I like well the good Motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman to his Friend at the same time, and do assure my self it would be most pleasant to the Realm, and profitable to Her Majesty; to wit, that this Man's Actions

might be called publickly to Tryal, and Liberty given to good Subjects to say, what they know against the same, as it was permitted in the first Year of King Henry the Eighth against his Grandfather, and in the first of Queen Mary against his Father, and then I would not doubt, but if these two Ancestors of his were found worthy to loose their heads for Treason, this Man would not be found Unworthy to make the third in Kindred, whose Treacheries do far surpass them both.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himself, and looking round about him as though he had been half afraid, and then said, My Masters do you read over, or study the Statutes that come forth? Have you not heard of the Proviso made in the last Parliament for Punishment of those who speak so broad of such men as my Lord of Leicester is?

Yes (said the Gentleman) I have heard how that Lord of Leicester was very careful and diligent to have such a Law pass against Talkers, hoping belike that his Lordship under that General Restraint might lie the more quietly in Harbour from the Tempest of Mens Tongues, which tatled busily at that time of divers of his Lordship's Actions and Affairs, which perhaps himself would have wished to have passed with more Secrecy; as of his Discontentment and Preparation to Rebellion upon Monsieurs first coming into England: As of his Disgrace and Checks received in Court:

Of the fresh Death of the Noble Earl of Essex, and of this Man's hasty snatching up of the Widdow, whom he sent up and down the Country from House to House by privy ways, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the Queen, and albeit he had not only used her at his good liking before for satisfying of his own Lust, but also Married and Re-married her for Contentation of her Friends, yet denied he the same by Solemn Oath unto Her Majesty, and Received the Holy Communion thereupon (so good a Conscience he hath) and consequently, most sharp Revenge towards all Subjects which should dare to speak thereof: And so for the Concealment both of this, and other his doings which he desireth not to have Publick: no marvail though his Lordship were so diligent a Procurer of that Law for Silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable, that his Lordship was in great Distress about that time, when Monsieur's Matters were in hand, and that he did many things, and purposed more, whereof he desired less Speech among the People, especially afterwards when his said Designments took not Place. I my self being that Year not far from Warwick, when he came thither from the Court of all Malecontent, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that he would have taken arms soon after, if the Marriage of Her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward: This thing in Cambridge, and in all the Country as I rode was in every Man's Mouth, and it was a wonder

to see, not only the Countenances, but also the Behaviour, and to hear the bold Speeches of all such as were of his Faction.

My Lord himself had given out a little before at Killingworth, that the Matter would cost many broken Heads before Michaelmas Day next; and My Lord of Warwick had said openly at his Table in Greenwich (Sir Thomas Henning being by, if I am not deceived) that it was not to be suffered (I mean the Marriage) which Words of his once coming abroad (albeit misliked by his own Lady, then also present) every Serving-man and common Companion took them up as in Defence of his Lordship's Part against the Queen: Marry, such running there was, such sending and posting about the Realm, such Amplifications of the Powers and Forces of Caffimire, and other Princes, ready as was affirmed, to present themselves to his Aid for Defence of the Realm and Religion against Strangers (for that was holden to be the cause) such Numbring of Parties and Accomplices within the Realm (whereof he himself shewed the Catalogue to some of his Friends for their Comfort) such debasing of them which favoured the Marriage, especially 2 or 3 Counsellors by name, who were said to be the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to be sharply punished (to the Terror of all others) such Letters were written, and intercepted of purpose, importing great Powers to be ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest

an open War, as that I began heartily to be afraid, and wished myself back at Cambridge again, hoping, that being there, my Scholars Gown should excuse me from Necessity of Fighting, for if not, I was resolved (by my Lord's good leave) to follow Aristotle, who preferred always the Lion before the Bear, assuring my self withal, that his Lordship should have no better Success in this (if it came to Tryal) then his Father had in as bad a Cause, and so much the more, for that I was Privy to the Minds of some of his Friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the Matter had broken out.

And amongst others there was a certain Vice-president in the World, who being left in the room and absence of another to procure Friends, said in a Place secretly not far off, that if the Matter come to Blows, he would follow from Ludlow his Mistress, and leave his Master in the Briars.

END OF VOL. I

Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XXIV.

MEMOIRS

OF

Robert Dudley,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

Written during his Life, and now published from an old Manuscript never printed.

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SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

MARRY (quoth the Gentleman) and I know many more would follow that Example: For albeit, that I know that the Papists were most named and misdoubted of his part in the Cause, for their open Inclination towards Monsieur, and consequently for the greater Discredit of the Thing it self, it was given out every where by this Champion of Religion, that Her Majesties Cause was the Papists Cause (even as his Father had done in the like Enterprise before him) though upon Dissimulation, as appeared at his Death, where he professed himself an earnest Papist, yet

there was no Man so simple in the Realm, which discried not this Vizard at the first, neither yet any good Subject (as I suppose) who seeing Her Majesty on the one part, would not have taken against the other part, whatsoever he had been. And much more the thing it self in Controversie (I mean the Marriage of Her Royal Majesty with the Brother, and Heir Apparent of *France*) being taken and judged by the Best, Wisest and Faithfullest Protestant in the Realm, to be both Honourable, Convenient, Profitable and needful, whereby only as by a most Soveraign and present Remedy, all our Maladies, both at home and abroad had been cured, all Foreign Enemies, and Domestick Conspirators, all Differences, all dangers, all Fears had ceased together.

France had been ours most assured, *Spain* would not a little have trembled, *Scotland* had been quiet, our Competitors in *England* would have quaked, and for the Pope he might have put by his Pipes, our Differences in Religion at home had been rather less, or no greater than now they are, for Monsieur being but a moderate Papist, and nothing vehement in his Opinions, was content with very reasonable Conditions for himself and his Strangers, only in use of their Conscience, not unlikely, truly, but that in time he might by God's Grace, and by the great Wisdom and Vertue of Her Majesty, have been brought also to embrace the Gospel, as King *Ethelbert* a Heathen, was by noble Queen *Bertha* his Wife, the first Christ-

ian of our *English* Princess Unto all which Felicity, if the Lord in Mercy should have added some Issue of their Royal Bodies (as was not impossible, when first this noble Match was moved) we then doubtless had been the Fortunate People under Heaven, and might perhaps have the means to have restored the Gospel throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular Benefits, both in present and to came, both in *re* and in *spe* this Tyrant for his own private Lucre (fearing least hereby his own intolerable Ambition might be restrained, and his Treachery revealed) hath bereaven the Realm, and done what in him lieth besides to alienate for ever, and make our Mortal Enemy, this great Prince, who sought the Love of Her Majesty with so much Honor and Confidence, as never Prince the like, putting twice his own Person in Jeopardy of the Seas, and to the Peril of his Malitious Envyers here in *England* for Her Majesties sake.

When you speak of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly be moved, both for these Considerations well touched by you, as also for some other especially one, wherein perhaps you will think me partial, but truly I am not, for that I speak it only in respect of the Quiet and Good of my Country, and that is, that by Monsieur's Match with our Noble Princess (besides the hope of issue, which was the Principal) there wanteth not also probability, that some

Union or Toleration in Religion between you and us, might have been procured in this State, as we see in some other Countries is admitted to their great Good: Which thing, no doubt would have cut off quite all Dangers and Dealings from Foreign Princes, and would have stopped many Devices and Plots within this Realm, whereas now by this Breach with France, we now stand alone, as me seemeth without any great Union or Friendship abroad, and our Differences at home grow more vehement and sharp than ever before, upon which two Heads, as also upon infinite other Causes, Purposes, Drifts and Pretences, there do ensue daily more deep, dangerous and desperate Practices, every Man using either the Commodity, or Necessity of the Time, and State for his own purpose, especially now, when all Men presume that Her Majesty by the continual Thwarting that hath been used against all her Marriages, is not like to leave unto the Realm, that precious Jewel so much desired, I mean the Royal Heirs of Her own Body.

Thwarting, call you the Defeating of all Her Majesties most Honourable Offers of Marriage (said the Gentleman) truly in my opinion, you should have used another word to express the Nature of so wicked a Fact, whereby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate Man hath done more hurt to this Common-wealth, then if he had murthered many Thousands of Her Subjects, or betrayed whole Armys to the professed Enemy. I can remember well my

self four Treaties to this purpose, undermined by his means.

The First with the Sweden King, the Second with the Arch-Duke of Austria, the Third with Henry King of France, that now reigneth; and the Fourth with the Brother and Heir of that Kingdom: For I let pass many other secret Motions made by great Potentates to her Majesty, for the same purpose, but those Four are openly known to have been all disturbed by this Davus, as they were earnestly pursued by the other.

And for the first Three Suitors, he drove them away, by Protesting, and Swearing, that himself was contracted unto her Majesty: Whereof her Highness was sufficiently advertised by Cardinal Chatillian, in the First Treaty for France; and the Cardinal soon after punish'd (as 'tis thought) by this Man with Poyson. But yet this Speech he gave out then every where amongst his Friends, both Strangers and others, that he, forsooth, was assured to her Majesty, and consequently, that all other Princes must give over their Smiles for him; whereunto, notwithstanding, when the Sweden King would hardly give Ear, this Man conferr'd with his Privado, to make a most unseemly and disloyal Proof thereof, for the others Satisfaction.

Which thing I am enforced by Duty to pass over with Silence, for Honour to the Parties that are touched therein; as also I am to conceal his said

filthy Privado, though worthy otherwise for his Dishonesty to be display'd to the World. But my Lord himself, I am sure, doth well remember, both the Man and the Matter.

And albeit there was no Wise Man, at that time, who knowing my Lord, suspected not the falsehood of his arrogant Affirmation, touching this Contract with her Majesty; yet some both abroad and at home, might doubt thereof perhaps: But now of late his known Marriage with his Minion, Dame Lettice of Essex, hath declared manifestly his own most impudent and disloyal Dealing with his Sovereign in this respect.

For that Report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common, and mentioned by many for Divers Years, yet did the Wiser sort make no account thereof, seeing it came only from himself, and in his own behalf. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty, who refused so many noble Kings and Princes, as Europe hath not the like, would make choice of so mean a piece as Robin Dudley is, Noble only in two Descents, and both of them stained with the Block, for which also himself was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by Law, for his Deserts, as appeareth yet in publick Records. And for the Widow of Essex, I marvel, Sir (quoth he) how you call her his Wife, seeing the Common Law standeth yet in force, touching matters of Marriage within the Realm.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you mean for that he procured the Poisoning of her Husband in his Journey from Ireland; you must think that Doctor Dale will dispense in that matter (as he did at his Lordship's appointment) with his Italian Physician Doctor Julio, to have Two Wives at once: At leastwise, the matter was permitted, and born out by them both publickly (as all the World knoweth) and that against no less Persons then the Arch-bishop of Canterbury himself, whose óverthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant, for contrarying his Will in so beastly a Demand.

But for this Controversy, whether the Marriage be good or no, I leave it to be tryed hereafter, between my young Lord of Denbeigh and Master Philip Sidney, whom the same most concerneth, for that it is like to deprive him of a good Inheritance, if it take place (as some will say that in no reason it can) not only in respect of the precedent Adultery and Murther, between the Parties, but also for that my Lord was contracted at least to another Lady before, that yet liveth; whereof Mr. Edward Dyer and Mr. Edmund Tilney, both Courtiers, can be Witnesses, and consummated the same Contract, by Generation of Children.

But this (as I said) must be left to be tryed hereafter by them, which shall have most Interest in the Case. Only for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of my Lord's

doings in Womens Affairs; neither touching their Marriages, neither yet their Husbands.

For First, his Lordship hath a special Fortune, that when he desireth any Womans Favour, then what Person soever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly, for the finishing of his desire.

As for Example, when his Lordship was in full hope to Marry her Majesty, and his own Wife stood in his Light, as he supposed, he did but send her to the House of his Servant Foster of Cumver, by Oxford, where shortly after she had the chance to fall from a pair of Stairs, and so to break her Neck; but yet without hurting of her Hood, that stood upon her Head. But Sir Richard Varney, who by commandment remained with her that Day alone, with one Man, and had sent away per force all her Servants from her, to a Market, Two Miles off, he, I say, with his Man, can tell you she dyed: Which Man being afterwards taken for a Felony in the Marshes of Wales, and offering the matter of the said Murther, was made away privily in the Prison: And Sir Richard himself dying about the same time in London, cryed piteously, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of Worship, of my Acquaintance, not long before his Death, that all the Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. The Wife also of Bald. Butler, Kinsman to my Lord, gave out the whole Fact a little before her Death. But to return unto my purpose, this was my Lord's good Fortune to

have his Wife die at that time, when it was like to turn to his Profit. Long after this he fell in love with the Lady Sheffield, whom I signified before, and then also had the same Fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extream Rheum in his Head (as it was given out) but as others say, with an artificial Catharr that stopped his Breath. The like good Chance had he in the Death of my Lord of Essex (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: For when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himself upon my Lord of Leicester, for begetting his Wife with Child in his Abscence (the Child was a Daughter, and brought up by the Lady Chandois, William Knowles his Wife) my Lord of Leicester hearing thereof, wanted not a Friend or two to accompany the Deputy; and among others a Couple of the Earls own Servants, Crompton (if I miss not his Name) Yeoman of his Bottles, and Godwick Lloyd, his Secretary entertained afterwards by my Lord of Leicester, and so he died by the way of an extream Flux, caused by an Italian Receit (as all his Friends are well assured) the maker wh.reof was a Surgeon, (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy, a cunning Man, and sure in Operation: With whom if the good Lady had been sooner acquainted, and used his help, she should not have needed to have sit so pensive at home, and fearful of her Husband's former return out of the same Country, but might have spared the young

Child in her Belly, which she was inforced to make away cruelly and unnaturally, for clearing the House against the good Man's arrival.

Neither must you marvel, though all these dyed of outward Dieeases, for this is the Excellency of the Italian Art (for which this Surgeon and Doctor Julio were entertained so carefully) who can make a Man dye in what manner, or shew of Sickness you will: By whose Instructions, no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to those the Counsel of his Doctor Bayly, a Man not a little studied (as he seemeth) in this Art. For I heard him once my self in Publick Act in Oxford (and that in the Presence of my Lord of Leicester, if I be not mistaken) maintain, that Poison might so be tempered and given, as it should not appear presently, and yet should kill the Party afterwards at what time it should be appointed: Which Argument, belike, pleased well his Lordship, and therefore was chosen to be discussed in his Audience, he being that day present. So though one dye of a Flux, and another of a Catharr, yet this importeth little to the Matter, but sheweth rather the great Skill and Cunning of the Artificer.

So Cardinal Chatillian (as I have said before) having accused the Lord of Leicester to the Queen's Majesty about the Marriage, and after passing from London, towards France, died by the way at Canterbury, of a

burning Fever, and so proved Dr. Baily's Assertion true, that Poison may be given to kill at a Day.

At this the Lawyer cast up his Eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing, and thinking of that, which had been spoken of the Earl of Essex, whose Case indeed moved me more then all the rest; for that he was a noble Gentleman, a great advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students; and towards me, and some of my Friends in particular, he had been in some things very benificial: And therefore I said, that it grieved me exceedingly to hear, or think of so unworthy a Death, contrived by such means to so worthy a Peer. And so much the more, for that it was my chance to come to the understanding of divers Particulars, concerning that thing both from one Lea and Frishman, Robin Homines and others, that were present at Dentheus House, the Merchant at Dublin, upon the Key, where this horrible Murther was committed.

The matter was wrought especially by Crompton, Yeoman of the Bottles, and by the Procurement of Godwick Lloyd (hath been before declared) and there was poisoned at the same time, and with the same Cup(as given of courtesie by the Earl) one Mrs Alice Drakott, a godly Gentlewoman, whom the Earl affectioned much, who departing thence toward her own House, which was 18 Miles of, the aforesaid Lea accompanying her, she began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with encrease of Pains, and excessive

Torment by vomiting, until she died, which was the Sunday before the Earl's Death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead, her Body was swollen into monstrous Bigness and Deformity: Whereof the good Earl hearing the Day following, lamented her case greatly, and said in the presence of his Servants, Ah poor Alice, the Cup was not prepared for thee, albeit, it was thy hard fortune to take it.

Young Homines also, whose Father is Master of the Children of her Majesty's Chappel, being at that time Page to the said Earl, and accustomed to take the taste of his Drink (though since entertained amogst others by my Lord of Leicester, for better covering of the matter) by his Taste that he then took of the Compound Cup, though in very small quantity (as you know the Fashion is) yet was he like to have lost his Life, but scaped in the end, being young, with the loss of his hair; which the Earl perceiving, and taking compassion of the Youth, called for a Cup of Drink, a little before his Death, and drank to Homines, saying I drink to thee my Robin, and be not afraid, for this is a better Cup of Drink than that whereof thou tookest the taste, when we were both poisoned; and whereby thou hast lost thy Hair, and I must lose my Life.

This hath young Homines reported openly in divers Places, and before divers Gentlemen of Worship, since his coming into England.

And the aforesaid Lea an Irishman, at his Passage

this way towards France, after he had been present at the forenamed Drakott's Death, which some other of the Earl's Servants have, and do most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the Terror of my Lord of Leicester's Revenge.

Wherefore in this matter, there is no doubt at all, though most extream, vile and intolerable Indignity, that such a Man should be so openly Murthered without Punishment.

What Noble Man within the Realm may be safe if this be suffered? Or what worthy Personage will adventure his Life in her Majesty's Service if this shall be his Reward?

But Sir, I pray you, pardon me, for I am perhaps somewhat too vehement in the Case of this my Noble Patron, and Peer of our Realm: And therefore I beseech you to go forwards in your Talk whereat you left.

I was recounting to you (said the Gentleman) others made away by my Lord of Leicester with like art; and the next in order I think was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was a Man whom my Lord of Leicester used a great while, as all the World knoweth, to overthwart and cross the doings of my Lord Treasurer, then Sir William Cecil, a Man specially always misliked of Leicester, who in respect of his old Master, the Duke of Somerset, as also for that his great Wisdom, Zeal and singular Fidelity to the Realm, was like to hinder much this Man's Design-

ments: Wherefore understanding after a certain time that these two Knights were secretly made Friends, and that Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was like to detect his doings (as he imagined) which might be some prejudice and let to his Purposes, having conceived also a secret grudge and grief against him; for that he had written to her Majesty, at his being Ambassador in France, that he heard it reported at Duke Memorance's Table, that the Queen of England had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper: Invited the said Sir Nicholas to a Supper, at his House in London, and at Supper-time departed to the Court, being call'd for as he said, on the sudden by her Majesty, and so per force would needs have Sir Nicholas to sit and occupy his Lordship's Place, and therein to be served as he was, and soon after by a Surfeit there taken, he died of a strange incurable Vomit. But the Day before his Death, he declared to a dear Friend of his, all the Circumstance and Cause of his Disease, which he affirmed plainly to be Poison given him in a Sallet at Supper, inveighing most earnestly against the Earl's Cruelty, and bloody Disposition; affirming him to be the Wickedest, most Perilous and Perfidious Man under Heaven.

But what availeth this, when he had received the Bait? This then is to shew the Man's good Fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for Causes he would not have to live.

And for this Art of Poisoning, it is such now, and

reacheth so far, as he holdeth all his Foes in England, and elsewhere; as also a good many of his Friends in fear thereof. And if it were known how many he hath dispatched and assaulted that way it would be marvellous to Posterity.

The late Earl of Sussex wanted not a Scruple for many years before his Death, of some Dram received, that made him incurable.

And to that noble Gentleman Monsieur Shemeirs, it was discovered by great Providence of God, that his Life was to be attempted by that Art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his own Circumspection) it was concluded, that the same should be assaulted by Violence: Whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

It hath been also told me by some of the Servants of the late Lady Lenox, who was also of the Blood Royal by Scotland, as all Men know, and therefore little liked by Leicester, that a little before her Death my Lord took the pains to come and visit her, with extraordinary kindness at her House at Hackney, bestowing long Discourses with her in private; but as soon as he was departed, the good Lady fell into such a Flux, as by no means could be stayed, so long as she had life in her Body: Whereupon both she her self, and also such as were near about her, and saw her Disease, and ending of her Days, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her Dispatch at his being there, whereof let the Woman that served

her be examined; and also Flower, that then had the chief doings in her Affairs, sithence hath been entertained by my Lord of Leicester: Mallet likewise a stranger born, that then was about her, a Sober and Zealous Man in Religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this Point if he were demanded. So that this Art and Exercise of Poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying, and he seemeth to take more Pleasure therein.

Now for the second point which I named touching Marriages and Contracts with Women; you must not marvel though his Lordship be somewhat diverse and inconstant with himself; for that, according to his Profit, or his Pleasure, and as his Lust and Liking shall vary.

And herein by the Judgment of all Men, he surpasseth not only Sardanapulus and Nero, but even Heliogabulus himself. So his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions by killing one, and denying the other, using the Third for a time, and fawning upon the Fourth. And for this Cause he hath his Terms and Pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Pre-contracts, Post-contracts, Protracts, and Retracts. As for Example, after he had killed his first Wife, and so broken that Contract, then forsooth would he needs make himself Husband to Queen Mary, and so defeat all other Princes, by vertue of his Pre-contract.

But after this, his Lust compelling him to another Place, he would needs make a Post-contract with the

Lady Sheffeild, and so he did, begetting Two upon her: The one a Boy called Robin Sheffeild, now living, sometimes brought up at Newington; and the other a Daughter, born as it is well known at Dudley-Castle.

But yet after his Concupiscence changing again, as it never stayeth, he resolved to make a Retract of his Post-contract, tho' it were as surely done as Bed and Bible could make the same, and to make a new Protract, which is a continuation of using her for a time, with the Widow of Essex. But yet to stop the Mouths of Out-cries, and to bury the Synagogue with some Honour (for these Two Wives of Leicester, were merrily and wittily called his Old and New Testament, by a person of great Excellency within the Realm) he being content to assign to the former One Thousand Pounds in Money, with other petty Considerations (the pitifullest abused that ever was Lady) and so betake his times to the latter; which latter notwithstanding he so useth, as we see, now Confessing, now Forswearing, now Dissembling the Marriage, as he will always, yet keep a void place for a new sure Contract with any other, when occasion shall require.

Now of a truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard, nor read the like to this in my life; yet have I read much in time of the Carnality and Licentiousness of divers outragious persons in this kind of Sin; as namely those whom you mentioned, especially the

Emperour Heliogabalus, who passed all others, and was called Darius, of the variety of filth, which he used in this kind of Carnality, or Carnal Beastliness, whose Death was, that being at length odious to all Men, and so slain by his own Soldiers, was drawn through the City upon the Ground like a Dog, and cast into the common Privy, with this Epitaph, *Hic projectus est indomitæ et rapidæ libidinis catulus:* Here is thrown in the Whelp of raging and unruly Lust: Which Epitaph may also one Day chance to serve my Lord of Leicester, whom you call the Bear Whelp, if he go forward as he hath begun, and die as he deserveth. But good Sir, what an intollerable thing is this, that amongst us Christians, and namely in so well a govern'd Common-Wealth as ours is, such a Riot should be permitted upon men's Wives in a Subject; whereas we read that amongst the Heathens, less offences than these in the same kind were extremely punished even in Princes themselves; that not only in the person delinquent alone, but also by the extirpation of the whole Family for his sake; as appeareth in the Example of the Tarquinians among the Romans: And here also in our Realm we have Registred in Chronicle, how that one King Edwin 600 years past was deprived of his Kingdom, for much less scandalous Facts than these.

I remember well the Story (quoth the Gentleman) and thereby do easily make conjecture, what difference there is, betwixt those times of old, and our days

now, seeing that a Crowned Prince could not pass unpunished, with one or two Outragious Acts; whereas now a Subject, raised up but yesterday from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all Licentiousness, and that with Security, void of Fear of God and Man. No mans Wife can be free from him, whom his Fiery Lust listeth to abuse, nor their Husbands able to resist, nor safe from his Violence, if they shew dislike, or will not yield their Consent to his Doings. And if I should discover in particular, how many good Husbands he had plagued in this Nature (for his Concupiscence and Violence do run joyntly together, as in furious Beasts we see they are accustomed.) Neither holdeth he any rule in his Lusts, besides only the motion and Suggestion of his own Sensuality; Kindred or Affinity, or any other Band of Consanguinity, Religion, Honor or Honesty taketh no place in his Outragious Appetite, what he best liketh, that he taketh as Lawful for the Time: So that Kinswoman, Allie, Friend, Wife, or Daughter, or whatsoever Female sort besides doth please his Eye (I leave out of purpose, and for Honors sake, Terms of Kindred more near) that must yield to his Desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once, or successively, is no more with him, than the eating of a Hen and her Chickens together. There are not by report two Noble Women about Her Majerty (I speak upon some account of

them that know much) whom he hath not solicited by Potent Ways. Neither contented with his Place of Honour, he hath descended to seek the Pasture among the Waiting Gentlewomen of Her Majesties Great Chamber, offering more for their Allurement, than I think Lais did take commonly in Corinth, if three hundred Pounds will make up the Sum, or if not, yet will he make it up otherwise having reported himself (so little shame he hath) that he offered to another of higher Place, an hundred Pounds Lands by the Year, with as much Jewels as most Women under Her Majesty used in England, which was no mean Bait to one that used Traffic in such Merchandize, she being but the Leavings of another Man before him, whereof my Lord was nothing squeamish for satisfying of his Lust, but can be content to gather up Crumbs, when he is hungry, even in the Laundry it self, or other Place of baser Quality.

And albeit, the Lord of his great Mercy, (to do him good, no doubt, if he were Revocable) hath laid his Hand upon him in some Chastisement in this World, by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his Bowels, whereby Misery and Putrefaction is threatned him daily, and to his Son by the Widow of Essex (being *filius peccati*) such a strange Calamity of the Falling-sickness in his Infancy, as well may be a Witness of his Parents Sin and Wickedness, and of both their Wasted Nature in Iniquity.

Yet is this Man nothing amended thereby; but

according to the Custom of old Adulterers, is more libidinous at this day than ever before, more given to procure Love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such Means. And albeit, for himself, both Age and Nature spent, doth somewhat tame him from this Act, yet wanteth he not will, as appeareth by the Italian Ointment, procured not many Years past by his Surgeon whereby he is able, as they say, to move his Flesh at all times for keeping of his Credit, howsoever his Inability is otherwise for Performance: As also one of his Physicians reported to an Earl of this Land, that his Lordship had a Bottle for his Beds-head of ten Pounds the Pint, to the same effect. But my Masters, whether are we faln unadvisedly? I am ashamed to have named so base Filthiness.

Not without good Cause (quoth I) but that we are here alone, and no Man heareth us. Wherefore, I pray you, let us return whereat we left.

When you named my Lord of Leicester's Daughter, Born of the Lady Sheffeild in Dudley Castle, there came into my Head a pritty Story concerning that Affair, which now I will recount, though somewhat out of order, thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unsavory Puddle, and foul Dunghil, whereinto we have slipped, by following my Lord too far in his Paths and Actions.

Wherefore to tell you the Tale, as it fell out; I grew acquainted some few months past, with a certain minister that now is dead, and was the same

man that was used at Dudley Castle, for Complement of some Sacred Ceremonies at the Birth of my Lord of Leicester's Daughter in that place. The matter was ordered by the wily wit of him that sowed the Seed, that for the better covering of the Harvest, and secret Delivery of the Lady Sheffeild, the good wife of the Castle (whereby Leicester appointed Gossips, might without other Suspition have Access to the place) should fain her self to be with Child, and after long and sore Labour, God wot, to be Delivered of a Cushion, as she was, and a little after a fair Coffin was buried with a bundle of Clouts in shew of a Child, and the minister caused to use all accustomed Prayers and Ceremonies for the Solemn Interring thereof. For which thing afterwards before his Death, he had Great Grief and Remorse of Conscience, with no small Detestation of the most Irreligious Device of my Lord of Leicester's in such a Case.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace, both at the Device, and at the Minister, saying: Now, truly, if my Lord's Contracts hold no better, but have so many Infirmities, with Subtilties, and by Places besides, I would be loath he were married to my Daughter, as mean as she is.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two be his Wife for the time, than his Guest especially, if the Italian Surgeon or Physician be at hand.

True it is, said the Lawyer, for he doth not poison

his Wifes, whereat I somewhat marvil, especially his first Wife, whom he chose rather to make away by open Violence, than by some Italian Comfortive.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may be divers Reasons alledged: First that he was not at that time so skilful in those Italian wares, nor had about him so skilful Physicians or Surgeons for that purpose, nor yet in truth do I think that his mind was setled then in mischief, as it hath been since; for you know that men are not desperate the first Day, but do enter into Wickedness by degrees, and that with doubt or staggering of Conscience at the beginning: And so he might at that time be desirous to have his Wife made away, for that she letted his Designment, but not yet so Stony Hearted, as to appoint out the particular manner of her Death, but rather to leave that to the Discretion of the Murtherer. Secondly, it is not unlike also, that he prescribed unto Sir Richard Darney at his going thither, that he should first attempt to kill her by Poison, and if that took not place, than by another way to dispatch her howsoever. And this I prove by the Report of old Doctor Baily, who then lived in Oxford (another manner of Man than he that now liveth about my Lord of the same Name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same University.

This Learned Grave Man reported for a certain, that there was a practice in Cumver amongst the Conspirators to have Poisoned the poor Lady a little

before she was killed, which was attempted in this order; They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that knew by her handling, that her Death was not far off) began to perswade her, that her Disease was abundance of Melancholly, and other Humors, and therefore would needs Counsel her to take some Potion, which she absolutely refused to do, as suspecting still the worst: They sent one day (unawares to her) for Doctor Bailey, and desired him to perswade her to take some little Potion at his Hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning also to have added somewhat of their own for her Comfort (as the Doctor upon just Causes suspected, seeing their great Importunity, and the small need the good Lady had of physick) and therefore he flatly denied their Request, misdoubting (as he after reported) least, if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion, he might after have been hanged for a Cover to their Sin.

Marry, the Doctor remained well assured, that this way taking no place, she should not long escape Violence, as after ensued.

And this was so beaten into the Heads of the Principal Men of the University of Oxford, by these and other means; as for that she was found Murthered (as all men said) by the Coroner's Inquest: And for that she being hastily and obscurely Buried at Cumver, which was condemned, above (as not advisedly done) my Lord, to make plain to the

World, the great Love he bare to her in her Life, and what a Grief the loss of so Vertuous a Lady was to his tender Heart, would needs have her taken up again and re-buried in the University Church at Oxford with great Pomp and Solemnity: That Doctor Babington, my Lord's Chaplain, making the Public Funeral Sermon at her second Burial, tript once or twice in his Speech, by recommending to their memories that Vertuous Lady so pitifully Murthered, instead of so pitiously Slain. A third Cause of this manner of the Ladies Death, may be the Disposition of my Lord's Nature, which is Bold and Violent, where it feareth no resistance (as all Cowardly Natures are by kind) and where any Difficulty or Danger appeareth, there more ready to attempt all by Art, Subtilty, Treason and Treachery: And so for that he doubted no great Resistance in the poor Lady to withstand the Hands of them which should offer to break her Neck, he durst the bolder attempt the same openly: But in the Men whom he poisoned, for that they were such Valiant Knights the most part of them, he was inforced, as all Wretched, Ireful and Dastardly Creatures are, to supplant them by Fraud, and by other Mens Hands: As also at other times he hath sought to do unto divers other Noble and Valiant Personages, when he was afraid to meet them in the Field, as a Knight should have done. His Treacheries towards the Noble late Earl of Sussex, in their many Breaches is notorious to all England, as

also the Bloody Practices against divers others, but among many, none more odious and misliked of all men, than those against Monsieur Shemiers, a Stranger and Embassador: Whom first he practised to have poisoned, and when that Device took no place, than he appointed that Robin Tyder his man (as after upon his Ale-bench he confessed) should have Slain him at the Black-fryars in Greenwich, as he went forth at the Garden-gate, but missing also of that purpose, for that he found the Gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected, he dealt with certain Flushingers, and other pyrates to sink him at the Sea, which the English Gentlemen, his Favourers, that accompanied him at his Return into France, and although they missed of this practice also (as not daring to set upon them for fear of some of Her Majesties Ships, who to break off this Designment, attended by Special Commandment to cast him over in Safety) yet the aforesaid English Gentlemen were holden four Hours in Chase at their coming back, as Mr. Rawley well knoweth, being then present, and two of the Chasers, named Clerk and Harris, confessed afterwards the whole Designment.

The Earl of Ormond hath likewise often declared, and will avouch it to my Lord of Leicester's Face, whensoever he shall be called to the same, that at such times as this man had a Quarrel with him, and thereby was likely to be inforced to the Field (which he trembled to think of) he first sought by all means

to get him made away by Secret Murther, offering five hundred pounds for the doing thereof. And Secondly, when that Device took no place, he appointed with him the Field, but secretly suborning his Servant, William Killygrew to lie in the way where Ormond should pass, and so to massacre him with a Callivar before he came to the place appointed; which murther, though it took no effect, for that the matter was taken up before the day of meeting, yet was Killygrew placed afterward in Her Majesties Privy Chamber by Leicester, for shewing his ready mind to do for his master so faithful a Service.

So faithful a Service (quoth I) truly in my opinion it was but an unfit Preferment for so Fascinorous a Fact: And as I would be loath, that many of his Italians, or other of that Art, should come nigh about her Majesties Kitching: So much less would I that many such his Bloody Champions should be placed by him in her Highness's Chamber.

Albeit, for this Gentleman in particular, it may be that with change of his place in Service, he hath changed also his mind and affection, and received better Instruction in the Fear of the Lord.

But yet in general, I must needs say, that it cannot be but prejudicial, and exceeding dangerous to our Noble Prince and Realm, that any one man (especially such a one as the World taketh this man to be) should grow to such Absolute Authority and Commandment in the Court, as to place about the Prince's person

(the Head, the Heart, the Life of the Land) whatsoever people liketh him best, and that not upon their Deserts towards the Prince, but towards himself: Whose Fidelity being more obliged towards their Advancer, than to their Soveraign, do serve for Watchmen about the same for the profit of him, by whose Appointment they were there placed, who by their means casting indeed but Nets, and Chains, and invisible Hands about that person, whom most of all he pretended to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, yet sweet and senseless. Neither is this Art of Aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in Affairs of former times; for that hath been from the beginning of all Government a trodden path of all Aspirers. In the stories, both sacred and profane, foreign and domestical of all Nations, Kingdoms, Countries and States, you shall read that such as meant to mount above others, and to govern all at their own descretion, did lay this for their ground and principle of their purpose to possess themselves of all such as were in place about the principal. Even as he who intending to hold a great city at his own disposition dareth not to make open war against the same, but getteth secretly into his hand, or at his devotion all the towns, villages, castles, fortresses, bullwarks, rampiers, waters ways, ports and passages about the same, and so without drawing the sword against the city, he bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all those in the Roman Empire, who rose from Subjects to be great Princes, and to put down Emperors.

This did all those in France and other Kingdoms, who at sundry times have Tyrannized their Princes. And in our Country the Examples are manifest of Vortiger, Harold, Henry of Lancaster, Richard of Warwick, Richard of Gloucester, John of Northumberland, and divers others, who by this means especially, have pulled down their lawful Sovereigns.

And to speak only a word or two of the last, for that he was this man's father: Doth not all England know, that he first overthrew the good Duke of Somerset, by drawing to his Devotion the very Servants and Friends of the said Duke, and afterwards did he not possess himself of the King's own person, and brought him to the end which is known, and that before the shameful Disinheritage of his own Royal Sisters, and all this by possessing first the principal men, that were in Authority about him? Wherefore, if my Lord of Leicester have the same plot in his head, as most men think, and that he meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crown by the House of Huntington against all the Race and Line of King Henry the Seventh in general, which his Father gave before him by pretence of the House of Suffolk, against the Children of King Henry the Eighth in particular, he wanteth not Reason to follow the same means and platform of planting special

persons for his purpose about the Prince, for sure his father's plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but only that God overthrew it at the instant, as happily he may do this man's also, notwithstanding any Diligence that Human Wisdom can use to the contrary.

To this (said the Gentleman) that my Lord of Leicester hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diadem, by the Title of Huntington, is not a thing obscure in it self, and it shall be more plainly proved hereafter: But now I will shew unto you for your Instruction, how well this man hath followed his fathers platform, or rather passed the same, in possessing himself of all Her Majesty's Servants, and Friends, and Forces too, to serve his turn for Execution at that time, and in the mean space for preparation.

First, In the Privy Chamber, next to Her Majesties person, the most part are his own Creatures (as he calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that place from him, and the rest he so over-ruleth either by Flattery or Fear, as none may dare but to serve his turn. His Reign also is so Absolute in this place, and likewise in all other parts of the Court, as nothing can pass but by his Admission, nothing can be said, done, or signified, whereof he is not particularly advertised, no Bill, no Supplication, no Complaint, no Suit, no Speech can pass from any man to the Prince (except it be from one of the Counsel) but by his good

liking, or if they otherwise do, he being admonished thereof (as presently he shall) the party delinquent is sure afterwards to seek the smart thereof. Whereby he holdeth, as it were a lock upon the ears of his prince, and all the tongues of Her Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speak one thing, that may offend him, though it were never so true and behoofeful for Her Majesty to know: As well as appeared in his late marriage with Dame Essex, which albeit was celebrated twice, first at Killingworth, and secondly at Wainstead in the presence of the Earl of Warick, Lord North, Sir Francis Knowles, and others, and this being exactly known to the whole court, with the very day, the place, witnesses, and the minister that married them together, yet no man durst open his mouth to make Her Majesty privy thereunto, until Monsieur Shemiers disclosed the same, and thereby incurred his high displeasure, with a subjection most dishonourable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to hear, and not to hear, of things that pass within his own Realm. And thereof it followeth, that no Suit can prevail in Court (be it never so mean) except he be first made acquainted, and receive not only the thanks but also be admitted unto a great part of the gain and commodity thereof; which as it is a great injury to the suitor, so a far more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth

only, and forfeiting himself, depriveth his Sovereign of all Grace, Thanks and Goodwill for the same. For which he giveth out ordinarily to every suitor, that Her Majesty is nigh parsimonious to herself, and very difficult to grant any smiles, were it not only upon his uncessant sollicitation, whereby he filleth his own purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive Benefits, of due thanks to their Princess for the same obtained.

Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be preferred in the Court, be he otherwise never so well a deserving Servant to Her Majesty, except he be one of Leicester's Faction or Followers: None can receive Grace, except he stand in good favour; no one may live in continuance and quiet of Life, except he take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him: so as all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments, riches and rewards which Her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realm can yield must serve to purchase this mans private friends and favourers, only to advance his party, and to fortify his faction. Which faction, if by this means it be great (as indeed it is) you may not marvel, seeing the riches and wealth of so worthy a commonwealth doth not serve him for a price to buy the same. Which thing himself well knoweth, frameth his spirit of proceeding correspondently, and upon confidence thereof is become so insolent and impatient of his Ire, that none may bear the same, how justly or unjustly soever it may be conceived. For albeit he begins to hate a man upon

meer surmise only (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being the mother of suspicion) yet he prosecuteth the same with such implaceable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for a party in that place, which might be shewed by examples of many whom he chased from the Court, upon his own displeasure, without other cause, being known othewise zealous Protestants, as Mr. Jerom Bowes, Master George Scott, and others we could name.

To this Insolency is also joined, as by Nature it followeth, most absolute and peremptory Dealing in all things, whereof it pleaseth him to dispose, without respect either of Reason, Order, Due, Right, Subordination, Custom, Convenience, or the like, whereof, notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters. As for Example, among the Servants of the Queens Majesties Houshold, it is an ancient and most commendable Custom, that when a place of higher room falleth void, he that by Succession is the next, and hath made proof of his Worthiness in an inferior place, should rise and possess the same (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untried, should be placed in the higher rooms the first Day, to the prejudice of others, and Disservice of the Prince, which most reasonable Custom this man condemning, and breaking at his pleasure, thrusting into higher Rooms, any person whatsoever, so he like his Inclination, or feel his Reward; albeit, he neither be

fit for the purpose, or hath been so much as Clerk in any inferior Office before, The like he useth out of the Court in all other places, where matters should pass by order of Election or Degree. As in the Universities, in Election of Scholars and Heads of Houses, in Ecclesiastical Persons for Dignities of Church, in Offices, Magistrates, Stewards, of Land s Sheriffs, and Knights of the Shire, in Burgesses of Parliament, in Commisioners, Judges, Justice of Peace, whereof many in every Shire must wear his Livery, and all the like, where this man's will must stand for Law and Reason, and his Letters for Absolute Laws. Neither is there any man, magistrate, or commisioner in the Realm, who dareth not sooner deny the petition of Her Majesties letters upon just causes (for that Her Highness is content to be satisfied with Reason) then to resist the commandments of this man's letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but only the execution of his said commandment, be it right or wrong.

To this answered the Lawyer, you verily Sir paint unto me a strange pattern of a perfect potentate in the Court, be like that stranger, who called our State in his Printed Book, *Leicestrensem Rempublicam*, a Leicestrian Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of Leicester, knoweth much of this matter.

But to hold, Sir, still not within the Court, I assure you by considerations which you have laid down, I begin now to perceive that this party must needs be

very great and strong within the Court, seeing that he hath so many ways and means to increase, inrich and encourage the same, and so strong abilities to tread down his enemies. The common Speech of many wanteth not Reason, I perceive, which calleth him the Heart and Life of the Court.

They which call him the Heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little ocassion more will call him the Head, and then I marvel what should be left for Her Majesty, when they take from her both Life, Heart and Headship in her own Realm? But the truth is, he hath the ——— at this day in almost the same case, as his Father had it in King Edward's days, by the same device (the Lord forbid that ever it come fully to the same state) for then we know what ensued to the principal.

And if you will have an evident Demonstration of this man's power and favour in that place, call but to mind the times when Her Majesty, upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted Favour and Countenance from him, did not all the Court as it were mutiny presently? Did not every Man hang the Lip? except but a few, who afterwards paid sweetly for their mirth; Were there not every Day new Devices sought out, that some should be on their Knees to her Majesty? Some should weep and put Finger in Eye; others should find out certain covert manner of Threatenings; other persons and perswasions of Love, other of

profit, other of Honour, other of Necessity, and all to get him recalled back to favour again? And had her Majesty any Rest permitted unto her, until she had heard and granted the same?

Consider then I pray you, that if at that time in his Disgrace he had his Faction so fast assured to himself, what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many years of Satisfaction? wherein by all Reason, he hath not been negligent, seeing that in policy, the first point of good Fortification is to make that Fort impregnable, which once hath been in danger to be lost. Whereof you have an Example in Richard Duke of York, in the time of King Henry the Sixth, who being once in the King's Hands, by his own Submission, and dismissed again, when for his Deserts he should have suffered; provided after, that the King should never be able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to do him hurt, but made himself strong enough to pull down the other, with the extirpation of his Family. And this of the Court, Honsehold, and Chamber of her Majesty.

But now, if we shall pass from Court to Counsel, we shall find him no less Fortified, but rather more.

For albeit the Providence of God hath been such, that in this most Honourable Assembly, there hath not wanted some two or three of the Wisest, Gravest, and most experienc'd in our State, that have seen and heard this man's perilous proceedings from the begin-

ning (whereof notwithstanding two are now deceased, and their places supplyed to Leicester's good liking) yet the wisdom of these worthy men have discovered always more then their Authorities were able to redress (the others greater power and violence considered) and for the residue of that Bench and Table, tho' I doubt not but there are divers who doth in Heart detest his doings (as there were also no doubt amongst the Counsellors of King Edward who misliked this man's father's attempts, though not so hardy as to contrary the same) yet for most part of the Counsel present, they are known to be so affected in particular; the one, for that he is to him a Brother, the other a fast obliged Friend, the other a Father, the other a Kinsman, the other an Allie, the other a Follower, or Fellow in Faction, so as none will stand in the Breach against him; none dare resist or encounter his Designments, but every man yieldeth rather to the force of his Blow, permitting him to peirce and pass at his pleasure, in whatsoever his Will is once settled to obtain.

And hereof (were I not stayed in respect of some who I may not name) I could alledge strange Examples, not so much in Affairs belonging to Subjects and private Men, as were the Cases of Snowden, Forrest, Denbeigh and Killingworth, of his fair pasture Fouley procured by Southam, of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, of the Lord Barkley, of Sir John Thorgmorton, and the like; wherein these of the Counsel that

disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to the same, but also in things that appertain directly to the Crown and Dignity, to the State and Common-wealth, and to the Safety and Continuance thereof.

It is not sure for any one Counsellor, or other of Authority, to take notice of my Lord of Leicester's Errors or Misdeeds, but with extream peril of their own ruin.

As for Example, in the Rebellion in Ireland, at the beginning, when my Lord of Leicester was in some Disgrace, and consequently (as he imagined) but in frail state at home, he thought it not unexpedient for his better Assurance to hold some intelligence that way for all Events, and so he did; whereof there was so good Evidence and Testimony found upon one of the first of account that was there slain (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured me) as would have been sufficient to have toucht the Life of any Subject of the Land, or in any State Christian, but only my Lord of Leicester, who is a Subject without Subjection.

For what think you? Durst any man take notice thereof? or avouch, that he had seen thus much? Durst he that took it in Ireland, deliver the same, where especially he should have done? Or they who receiv'd it in England (for it came to great Hands) use it to the benefit of their Princess and Country? No surely, For, if it had been but only suspected, that

they had seen such a thing, it would have been as dangerous unto them, as it was to Actæon to have seen Diana, and her maidens naked, whose Case is so common now in England, as nothing more, and so do the Examples of divers well declare, whose unfortunate knowledge of too many Secrets, hath brought 'em quickly to unfortunate ends.

For we hear of one Salvater, a Stranger, long used in great mysteries of base Affairs, and dishonest Actions, who afterwards, upon what Demerit I know not, sustaining a hard Fortune, for being late with my Lord in his Study, well near unto midnight (if I be rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next morning was found slain in his Bed. We hear also of one Doughty hanged in haste by Captain Drake upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought) given before his departure out of England, for that he was over privy to the Secrets of this good Earl.

There was also this last Summer one Gates hanged at Tyburn, amongst others, for robbing of Carriers; which Gates had been lately clerk of my Lord's kitchin, and had laid out much money of his own (as he said) for my Lord's provision, being also otherwise in so great grace and favour with his Lordship, as no man living was thought to be more privy to his secrets than this man; whereupon also it is to be thought, that he presumed the rather to commit the Robbery (for to such doth my Lord's favour extend much) and being apprehended and in danger for the same, he

made his recourse for protection to his Honour (as the fashion is) and that he might be born out as divers of less merit had been by his Lordship, in more heinous causes before him.

The good Earl answered his servant and dear privado courteously, and assured him of Life; however, for outward shew, or compliment, the form of the Law might pass againit him.

But Gates seeing himself condemned, and nothing now between his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate, which might come in an instant, when it would be too late to send to his Lord, remembering also the small assurance of his said Lord's word, by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy; he thought good to sollicite his cause also by some others of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed both diligently and effectually in his affairs, found the matter more difficult a great deal, then either he or they imagined; for that my Lord of Leicester was not only a favourite, but a hastener of his death underhand, and that with such care and diligence, vehemency and unresistable means, having the Law also on his side, there was no hope at all of his escaping: Which thing when gates heard of, he easily believed; for the experience he had of his master's good nature, saying, that he always mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was indebted unto him, and made privy also to his Lordship's

foul secrets: which secrets he would presently have offered in the face of all the world, but that he feared torments, or speedy death with some extraordinary cruelty, if he should so have done. But he disclosed to one Gentleman of Worship, whom he trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes (but it beginneth with H) I am in hope 'ere it be long, by means of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of Gates, which hitherto I have not seen, nor ever spake with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I be well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

Whereunto answered the scholar, that in good faith, it were pity, that the relation should be lost, for that it is very like the many rare things be declared therein, seeing it is done by man so privy to the affairs themselves, wherein also he had been used as an Instrument.

I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or else my Friend shall fail me, howbeit not so soon as I would; for that he is in the West-Country that should procure it for me, and will not return for certain Months. But after I shall see him again, I will not leave him until he procure it for me, as he hath promised me.

Well (quoth the Scholar) but what is become of that Evidence found in Ireland, under my Lord's hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch or behold.

Truly (quoth the Gentleman) I am informed that it lyeth safely in good Custody, to be brought forth

and avouched, whensoever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesty's Heart, as to lend an indifferent ear, as well to his Accusers, as to himself in judgment. Neither must you think, that this is strange, nor that the things be few which are in such sort reserved in dark for the time to come, even amongst great personages, and of high Calling; for seeing the present state of his power to be such, and the tempest of his Tyranny to be so strong and boisterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof without peril; for that even from her Majesty her self, in the levity of her Princely Nature, he extorteth what he designeth, either by Fraud, Flattery, false Information, Request, Pretence, or violent Importunity, to the overbearing of all whom he meaneth to oppress.

No marvel then, though many even of the best and faithfullest Subjects of the Land, do yield to the present times, and do keep silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for Duty to utter.

And in this kind it is not long sithence a worshipful and wise Friend of mine told me a Testimony in Secret, from the Mouth of as noble and grave a Counsellor as England hath enjoyed this many Hundred Years, I mean the late Lord Chamberlain, with whom my said Friend being alone at his House in London, not Twenty Days before his Death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these, and the like matters,

as with a true Father of his Country and Common-wealth.

And after my Complaints in the behalf of divers, who had opened their griefs unto Counsellors, and saw, that no notice would be taken thereof, the said Noble Man turning himself about somewhat from the water (for he sat near his Pond side, where he beheld the taking of a Pike, or Carp) said to him, it is no marvel Sir, for who dare intetmeddle himself in my Lord's Affairs? I will you (quoth he) in confidence betwixt you and me, there is as wise a man, as grave and as faithful a Counsellor, as England breedeth (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much in his keeping of Leicester's own Hand writing, as is sufficient to hang him, if either he durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty do Justice when it should be presented.

But indeed (quoth he) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vain for any man to struggle with him.

These were that Noble Man's Words, whereby you may consider, whether my Lord of Leicester be strong in Counsel this day or no, and whether his Fortifications be sufficient in that place. But now if out of the Counsel, we shall turn but our Ears into the Country abroad, we shall find as good Fortification also there, as we have perused already in Court and Counsel, and shall well pereeive that this man's plot is no fond or undiscreet plot, but excellently well

grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due Correspondence.

Consider then the chief and principal parts of this Land for Martial Affairs, for Use and Commodity of Arms, for Strength, for Opportunity, for Liberty of the People, as dwelling farthest off from the Prince; such parts, I say, as are fittest for sudden Enterprizes, without danger of interception; as the North, the West, the Country of Wales, the Islands round about the Land, and sundry other places within the same, are they not all this day at his disposition? Are they not all by his procurement in the Hands of his Friends and Allies? In York is President the Man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in Affinity, his dearest in Friendship, the head of his Faction, and open Competitor of the Scepter.

END OF VOL. II.

Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XXIV.

MEMOIRS

OF

Robert Dudley,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

Written during his Life, and now published from an old Manuscript never printed.

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SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

IN Warwick is Captain his Wive's Uncle, most assured to himself and Huntington, as one who at convenient time may as much advance their Designments, as any Man in England.

In Wales the chief Authority from the Prince, is in his own Brother-in-law, but amongst the People of (natural Affection) is in the Earl of Pembrooke, who both by the Marriage of his Sister's Daughter, is his Allie, and by Dependence is known to be wholly at his Disposition. The West part of England is under Bedford, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans Faction.

In Ireland was Governour of late the principal Instrument appointed for their purposes, both in respect of his Heart and Affection towards their Designments, as also of some secret Discontentment, which he hath towards her Majesty and the State present, for certain hard Speeches, and in great Recompences, as he pretendeth, but indeed for that he is known to be of Nature Fiery, and impatient of stay, foreseeing that common on foot, which the next Competitors for their gain have painted out to him, and such others, more pleasant then the terrestrial Paradise it self.

This then is the Hector, this is the Ajax, appointed for the Enterprize when the time shall come, this forsooth must be another Richard of Warwick, to gain the Crown of Henry the 9th of the House of York, as the other Richard did put down Henry the 6th of the House of Lancaster, and placed Edward the 4th, from whom Huntington deriveth his Title— Therefore this Man is necessarily to be entertained from time to time; as we now see he is, in some Charge and Martial Action, to the end his Experience, Power and Credit may grow the more, and so be able at the time to have Soldiers at his Commandment.

And for the former charge which he held of late in Ireland, as this Man had not been called away, but for execution of some other Secret purpose for advancement of their designments, so be well assured,

that for the time to come, it is to be furnished again with a sure and fast Friend to Leicester, and that Faction.

In the Isle of Wight, I grant that Leicester hath lost a great Friend, and a trusty Servant by the Death of Captain Horsey, but yet the matter is supplyed by the Succession of another, no less assured unto him, then the former, or rather more, through the band of Affinity by his Wife.

The Two Islands of Gersey and Guernsey, are in the possession of Two Friends, and most obliged Dependents, the one by reason he is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane Proceedings, the other as now being joyned unto him by the Marriage of Mrs. Besse his Wives Sister, both Daughters to Sir Francis, or at the least to my Lady Knowles, and so become a Rival Companion and Brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his Servant. And these are the chief Keys and Fortresses, and Bulwarks within, without, and about the Realm; which my Lord of Leicester possessing (as he doth) may be assured of the Body within, where notwithstanding, as hath been shewed, he wanteth no due preparation for Strength, having at his Disposition, besides all Aids and other Helps, specified before, her Majesty's Horse and Stables, by Interest of his own Office of his Brother the Earl of Warwick, the Tower of London, and the Treasure therein, by the Dependence of Sir Owen Hopton, his sworn Servant, as ready to receive and

furnish him with the whole, if occasion served, as one of his Predecessors was to receive his Father in King Edwards Days, for the like effect against her Majesty and Sister.

And in the City of London it self, what a Man at a pinch could do, by the help of some of the Principal Men and chief Leaders, and as it were Commanders there, and by the bestirring of Fleetwood his made Recorder, and other such his Instruments; as also in all other Towns, Ports and Cities of Importance, by such of his own setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his Designments, and Justices of the Peace with others, that in most Shires do wear his Liveries, and are at his appointment, the simplest within this Realm doth consider: Whereunto if you add his own Forces and Furniture, which he hath in Killingworth Castle, and other Places; as also the Forces of Huntingdon in particular, with their Friends, Followers, Allies and Co-partners, you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations for my Lord of Huntingdon's forwardness in the Cause (quoth I) there is no Man I think which maketh doubt, marry for his private Forces, albeit they may be very good for any thing I do know to the contrary especially at his House within Twenty five Miles of Killingworth where one told me, that some years past, that he had Furniture ready for Five thousand Men; yet do I not think but they are far inferior to my Lord of Leicester, who is taken to have excessive, and that in

divers Places. And as for the last Castle mentioned by you, there are Men of good Intelligence, and no small Judgment, who report that in the same he hath enough to furnish Ten thousand good Soldiers of all things necessary both for Horse and Man, besides all other Munition, Armour and Artillery, whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of Triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried back again, besides great abundance of Corn there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great Exploit to be done within the Realm. And I know that the Estimation of this place was such amongst many divers years ago, as when at a time, her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to die at Hampton-Court; a certain Gentleman of the Country came to my Lord of Huntingdon, and told him, that forasmuch as he took his Lordship to be next in Succession to her Majesty, he would offer a mean of great help, for compassing of his purpose after the decease of her Majesty, which was the possessing of Killingworth Castle; for at that time these Two Earls were not very great Friends, nor Confederates together, and that being had, he shewed to the Earl the great Furniture and Wealth which thereby he should possess for pursuit of his purpose.

The proposition was not unliked, and the Matter esteemed of great Importance, and consequently received with great thanks.

But yet afterwards her Majesty by the great Pro-

vidence of God recovering again, letted the execution of the Bargain, and my Lord of Huntingdon having to joyn Amity with Leicester, had more respect to his own Commodity, then his Friend's Security (as commonly in such Persons and Cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgot not after from time to time to plague the Deviser by secret means, until he had brought him unto that poor Estate, as all the World seeth, though many Men be not acquainted with the true cause of this his Disgrace and bare Fortune.

To this answered the Lawyer: In good faith Gentlemen, you open great Mysteries unto me, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before, and no marvel, for that my Profession and Exercise of Law, restraineth me from much Company-keeping, and when I happen to be amongst some that could tell much therein, I dare not either ask, or hear, if any of himself began to talk, least afterwards the Speech coming to light, I be fetched over the Coals (as the Proverb is) for the same under the pretence of another thing.

But you who are not suspected for Religion have much greater Priviledge in such matters, both to hear and speak again, when Men of my Estate dare not: Only this I knew before, that throughout all England my Lord of Leicester is taken for the *Dominus fac Totum*, whose Excellence is above all others, infinite, whose Authority is absolute, whose Commandment

is dreadful, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose Favour is Omnipotent, and for his Will, though it be seldom Law, yet always is his Power above Law; and therefore we Lawyers in all Cases brought unto us, have as great regard unto his Inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet Dominant, or as Seamen have to the North-Pole: For as they that fail, do direct their Course to the situation and direction of that Star which guideth them at the Pole: And as Astronomers who make Prognostication, and do foretel things to come according to the aspect of the Planet Dominant, or bearing rule for the time: So we do guide our Clients Bark, and do Prognosticate what shall ensue of his Case by the aspect, and inclination of my Lord of Leicester: And for that reason, as soon as ever we hear a Case proposed, our Custom is to ask what Party my Lord of Leicester is like to favour in the matter; for in all matters likely of importance he hath a part, or what may be gathered of his Inclination therein, and according to that we give a guess, more or less, what end will ensue.

But this my Masters, is from the purpose, and therefore returning to our former Speech again, I do say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provision of my Lord of Leicester, and his Friends, in such, and such Places; yet seeing him accounted Lord General over all the whole Realm, and to have at his Commandment all the several Commodities and Forces pertaining to her Majesty, which you have mentioned

before, and so many more as be in the Realm, and not mentioned; in fine, he having all, I could not but account him as he is a potent Prince of our State, for all Furniture needful for Defence or Offence, or rather the only Monarch of our Nobility, who hath sufficient of himself to plunge his Prince if he should be discontented, especially for his abundance of Money, which by the Wife is termed the sinews of the Martial Actions: Wherein, by all Men's Judgments, he is better furnished at this day, then ever any Subject of our Land, eithe had been hitherto, or likely may be hereafter.

Insomuch, that being my self in the last Parliament, when the Matter was moved for the Grant of a Subsidy, after that, one of Her Majesties Subjects had given very good Reasons why her Highness was in want of Money, and consequently needed the Assistance of Her Faithful Subjects therein: Another that sat next me of good Account, said in my Ear secretly, these Reasons I do well allow, I am contented in Money; but yet for Her Majesties Need I could make answer, as one answered once the Emperor Tiberius in the like Case and Cause: *Abunde ei pecuniam fore si a liberto suo in societatem reciperet:* That Her Majesty should have Money enough, if one of her Highness's Servants would vouchsafe to make her partaker with him; meaning my Lord of Leicester, whose Treasure must needs in one respect be greater than that of Her Majesties, for that he layeth up

whatsoever he getteth, and his Expences he casteth upon the Purse of his Princess.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether he do or no, it importeth little to the Matter, seeing both that which he spendeth, and that which he hoardeth is truly and properly his Princess Treasure, and seeing he hath so many ways of gaining, what should he make account of his private expences? If he lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer? He that hath so goodly Lands, Possesions, Signories, and rich Offices of his own, as he is known to have; he that so special Favour and Authority with the Prince, as he can obtain whatsoever he listeth to demand; he that hath his Part and Portion in all Suits beside that pass by Grace, or else for the most part are ended by Law; he that may cope and change what Lands he listeth with Her Majesty, despoil them of all their woods, and other commodities, and rack them afterwards to the utmost Penny, and then return the same so Tender-stretched, and bare, into Her Majesties Hands by a fresh Exchange, Rent for Rent, for other Lands never exhaunced before; he that possessed so many gainful Licenses to himself of Wine, and Oil, and Currans, Cloath and Velvets, with his new Office or License of Alienation, most pernicious under the Common-wealth, as he useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient to inrich whole Towns, Corporations, Countries and Common-wealths: He that hath the Art to make

gainful to himself every Offence, Displeasure, falling out of Her Majesty with him, and every angry Countenance cast upon him; he that hath his share in all Offices of great Profit, and holdeth an absolute monopoly of the same; he that disposeth at his Will the Ecclesiastical Livings of the Realm, maketh Bishops none but such as will do Reason, or of his Chaplains whom he lifteth, and retaineth to himself so much of the Living as liketh him best; he that sweepeth away the Glebeland from so many Benefices through the Land, and compoundeth with the parson for the rest; he that so scowreth the Universities and Colleges, where he is Chancellor, and selleth both Headships and Scholars Places, and all other Offices, Rooms and Dignities, that by Art or Violence may yield many; he that maketh Title to what Land, or other thing he pleaseth, and denieth the parties to compound for the same; he that taketh the whole Forests, Commons, Woods and Pastures to himself, compelling the Tenants to pay him new Rent, and what he cesseth; he that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever he list, taketh from any what he list, and maketh his own Claim, Suit, and End as he list, he that selleth his Favour with the Prince, both abroad in Foreign Countries, and at home, and setteth the price thereof, what himself will demand; he that hath, and doth all this, and besides this hath infinite presents daily brought unto him of great Value, both of Jewels and Plate, and all

kind of Furniture and ready Coin: This Man, I say may easily bear his own Expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when need shall require.

You have said much, Sir (quoth the Lawyer) and such Matter as toucheth nearly Her Majesty and the Common-wealth, and yet, in my Conscience, if I were to plead for my Lord at the Bar, I could not tell which of all these Members to deny: But for that you mention in the last part of his gaining by Her Majesties Favour both at home and abroad, touching, his Home-gain it is evident, seeing all that he hath is gotten only by the opinion of Her Majesties Favour towards him, which causeth many Men to repair to him with fat presents, rather for that they suppose he may by his Favour do them hurt, if he feel not their Reward, than for that they hope he will Labour any thing in their Affairs. You remember, I doubt not, the Story of him that offered his Prince a great Yearly Rent to have but this Favour only, that he might come every day in open Audience, and say in his Ear, God save your Majesty, assuring himself, that by the Opinion of Confidence and secret Favour, which hereby the people would conceive to be in the Prince towards him, he would easily get up his Rent again double told. Wherefore my Lord of Leicester receiving daily from Her Majesty greater Tokens of Grace and Favour, than this, and himself being no ill Merchant to make his own bargain, for the best of his

Commodity, cannot but gain exceedingly at home by his Favour. And for his Lucre abroad upon the same Cause, I leave to other Men to conceive, what it may be, since the beginning of Her Majesties Reign, the Times whereof, and the condition of all Christendom hath been such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have been constrained at one time or other, to sue to Her Highness for Aid, Grace or Favour, in all which Suits Men use not to forget, as you know, the parties most able by their Credit to further, or let the same. In particular, only this I can say, that I have heard of sundry Frenchmen, that at such time as the Treaty was between France and England for the delivery of Callis unto us again in the first year of Her Majesties Reign that now is, when the French-men were in great Distress and Misery, and King Philip refused absolutely to make Peace with them except Callis were restored to England (whether for that purpose he had now delivered the French Hostages) the French-men do report, I say, that my Lord of Leicester stood then in great stead of their necessity for his Reward (which you may imagine was not small for a thing of such importance) and became a Suitor, that Peace might be concluded, with the release of Callis to the Frenchmen, which was one of the most impious facts, to say the truth, that could ever be devised against the Common-wealth.

A small matter in him (quoth the Gentleman) for in this he did no more but as Christ said of the Jews,

that they filled up the measure of their Fathers Sins. For if you read the Story of King Edward's Time, you shall find it most evident, that this Man's Father before him sold Bulloigne to the French by like Treachery: For it was delivered up upon Composition without Necessity or Reason, the twenty first of April, in the fourth Year of King Edward the 6th, when he, I mean Duke Dudley, had now put in the Tower the Lord Protector, and thrust out of the Counsel the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, and so invaded the whole Government himself, to sell, spoil and dispose all at his own pleasure.

Wherefore this is but natural to my Lord of Leicester, by descent to make Merchandize of the State, for his Grandfather Edmund also was such a kind of Man.

An Evil Race of Merchants (quoth the Lawyer) for the Common-wealth, but yet, Sir, I pray you, said he, expound unto me somewhat more at large, the nature of these Licenses that you named, as also the changing of Lands with her Majesty, if you can set it down any plainer, for they seem to be things of exquisite Gain, especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her Highness's Offence towards him, for it seemeth to be a Device above all Skill or Reason.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know, that every falling out must have an Attonement again, whereof he being sure, by the many and puissant

Means of his Friends in Court, as I have before shewed, who shall not give her Majesty rest until it be done, than for this Attonement, and in perfect Reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some Suit or other, which he will always have ready provided for that purpose, and this Suit shall be well able to reward his Friends, that laboured for his Reconcilement, and leave also a good remainder for himself, and that is now so ordinary a practise with him, as all the Realm observeth the same, and disdaineth, that her Majesty should so unworthily be abused. For if her Highness fall not out with him so often, as he desireth to gain this way, then he picketh some quarrel or other to shew himself discontented with her, so that one way or other; this gainful Reconciliation must be made, and that often for his Commodity.

The like Art he exerciseth by inviting her Majesty to his Banquets and to his Houses, where if she come, she must grant in Suits ten times as much as the Charges of all amounts to. So that Robin playeth the Broker in all his Affairs, and maketh the uttermost Penny of her Majesty every way.

Now for the Change of Lands, I think I have been reasonably plain before, yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further Dealing therein to be of this sort. Besides the good Lands, and of ancient Possession of the Crown procured of her Majesties hands, and used, as before is declared, he useth the same Trick for his worst Lands he possesseth any

way, whether they come unto him by Extort Means and plain Oppression, or through Maintenance or broken Titles, or by Couzening of simple Gentlemen to make him their Heir, or by what hard Title, or Unhonest Means soever (for he practiseth store of such, and thinketh little of the Reckoning) after he hath tried them likewise to the uttermost Touch, and let them out to such as shall gain but little by the Bargain, then goeth he and changeth the same with her Majestly for the best Lands he can pick out of the Crown, to the end that thereby he may both inforce her Majesty to the Defence of his bad Titles, and himself fill his Coffers with the Fines, and utmost Commodity of both the Lands.

Now, touching his Licences, thus they stand, first, he got Licences for certain great Numbers of Cloaths to be transported out of this Land, which might have been an undoing to the Merchants Subjects, if they had not redeemed the same with great sums of Money, so that it redounded greatly to the Damage of all Occupiers about that kind of Commodity. After that, he had the Grant for carrying over of Barrel-staves, and of some other such like wares. Then procured he a Monopoly for bringing in of Sweet Wines, Oils, Currans, and the like, whereof the Gain is inestimable. He also had the Forfeit of all Wine that was to be drawn above the old ordinary Price, with Licence to give Authority to sell above that Price, wherein Captain Horsey was his Instrument. By which means it is incredible, what Treasure and

Yearly Rent was gathered throughout the Land. To this add, now his Licences of Silks and Velvets, which only were enough to enrich the Mayor and Aldermen of London, if they were decayed, as I heard often divers Merchants affirm. And his Licence of Alienation of Lands, which as in part I have opened before, serveth him not only to excessive Gain, but also for an extream Scourge to plague whom he listeth in the Rea m: For, seeing that without this his Licence no Man can buy or sell, pass or alienate any Land, that any ways may be drawn to that Tenure, as holden in chief of the Prince, as commonly now most lands may, he calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, be it never so clear. And under this Colour, not only Enricheth himself without measure, but revengeth himself also where he will without all Order.

Here the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting the Lip, as if he were astonished, and said; Verily, I have not heard so many and so apparent things, or so odious of any man that ever lived in a Commonwealth, and I greatly marvel at my Lord of Leicester, that his Grandfather's Fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King Henry the 8ths Days, for much less and fewer Offences in the same kind committed in the time of King Henry the 7th. for he was thought to be the Inventer of these Powlings and Molestations wherewith the People were burthened in the latter Days of that King; and yet had

he great Pretence of Reason to alledge for himself, in that these Actions were made to the King's use, and not to his, albeit, no doubt, his own Gain was also therein. Master Stow writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his Imprisonment in the Tower, he wrote a notable Book, Entituled, The Tree of the Common-wealth, which said Book, the said Stow saith, that he hath delivered to my Lord of Leicester many Years ago, and if the said Book be so notable, as Mr. Stow affirmeth, I marvel that his Lordship in so many Years doth not Publish the same for the Glory of his Ancestors.

It may be (said the Gentleman) that the Secrets therein contained be such, as it seemeth good to my Lord of Leicester to use them only himself, and to gather the Fruit of that Tree into his House alone. For if the Tree of the Common-wealth in Edmund Dudley's Book be the Prince, and his Race, and the Fruit to be gathered from that Tree be Riches, Honors, Dignities and Preferments, then, no doubt, but as the Writer, Edmund was cunning therein, so have his two Scholars, John and Robert, well studied, and practised the same, or rather they have exceeded, and far passed the Author himself. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as he was like to have broken down the main Boughs for greediness; the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himself, and his Friends, as it is, and may justly be doubted, that when they have cropped all they can

from the Tree, left them by their Father Edmund (I mean the Race of King Henry the 7th.) then will they pluck up the Stump by the Roots as unprofitable, and pitch in his place another Tree, that is the Line of Huntingdon, that may begin to feed a new with fresh Fruits again, and so for a time content their Appetites, until of Gatherers they become Trees, which is their Final Purpose to feed themselves at their own Discretion. And howsoever this be, it cannot be denied, but that Edmund Dudley's Brood have learned by this Book, and other means, to be more cunning Gatherers, than ever their Progenitor was that made the Book. First, for that he made profession to gather for his Prince, though wickedly, and these Men make Demonstration that they have gathered for themselves, and that with much more Iniquity. Secondly, For that Edmund Dudley, though he got himself near about the Tree, yet was he content to stand on the Ground and save himself from the Tree, as Commodity was offered; but his Children not esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft upon the Tree, pluck, crop and rifle at their pleasure: And as in this second Point, the Son, John Dudley was more subtle than Edmund the Father. So in a third Point, the Nephew, Robert Dudley is more crafty than they both: For that he seeing the evil Success of these two, that went before him, he hath provided to gather so much in convenient time, and to make himself therewith so fat and strong,

wherein the other two failed, as he will never be in danger more to be called to account for the same.

In good faith (said the Lawyer) I thank you heartily for this pleasant Discourse upon Edmund Dudley's Tree of the Common-wealth, and by that Opinion, my Lord of Leicester is the most Learned of all his Kindred, and a very cunning Logician indeed, that can draw for himself so commodious Conclusions out of the perilous Premises of his Progenitors.

No marvel (quoth the Gentleman) for that his Lordship is Master of Arts in Oxford, and Chancellor besides of the same University, where he hath store, as you know, of many fine Wits, and good Logicians at his Commandment, and where he learneth, not only the Rules, and Art of Cunning Gathering, but also the very Practise, as I touched before, seeing there is no one College or other thing of Commodity within that Place, where thence he hath not pulled whatsoever was possible to be gathered, either by Art or by Violence.

Touching Oxford (said I) for that I am an University Man my self, and have both Acquaintance with divers Students of the other University, I can tell you enough, but in fine, all tendeth to this Conclusion, that by his Chancellorship is cancelled almost all hope of Good in that University, and by his Protection it is like to come to Destruction. And surely, if there were no other thing to declare the odds and difference betwixt them and our Chancellor, whom

he cannot bear; for that every way he seeketh to pass him in all Honor and Vertue, it were sufficient to behold the present State of the two Universities, whereof they are Heads and Governors. For our own, I will not say much, least perhaps I seem partial, but let the thing speak for it self. Consider of the Fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiners Diligence: Look upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of England, and see where principally they have received their Furniture for Advancement of the Gospel; and on the contrary-side, look upon the Seminaries of Papists at Rome and Rheines, look upon the Colleges of Jesuits, and other Companies of Papists beyond the Seas, and see where hence they are specially fraught. The Priests and Jesuits, here executed within the Land, and other that remain, either in Prison or Abroad in Corners, are they not all in a manner of that University; I speak not to the Disgrace of any Good that remains there, or that have issued out thence into the Lord's Vineyard, but for the most part that are of this our Time, have they not either gone beyond the Seas, or left their Places for Discontentment in Religion, or else become Serving-men, or followed the bare Name of Law or Physick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the Service of God's Church, or their Common-wealth? And where hence, I pray you, issueth all this, but by reason the chief Governor thereof is an Atheist himself, and useth the Place only

for Gain and Spoil, for here hence it cometh, that all good Order and Discipline is dissolved in that Place; the Fervor of Study extinguished, the Publick Lectures abandoned (I mean for the most part) the Tavern and ordinary Tables frequented, the Apparel of Students grown Monstrous, and the Statutes and good Ordinances, both of the University and every College and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lord's good Pleasure, without respect, either of Oath, Custom or Reason to the contrary.

The Heads and Offices are put in and out at his only Discretion, and the Scholars Places either sold, or disposed by these his Servants and Followers. Nothing can be had there now without present Money, it is a common buying and selling of Places in that University, as of Horses in Smithfield: Whereby the good and Vertuous are kept out, and Companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lordship afterwards in all Affairs that shall occur. And as for Leases and Farms, Woods, Pastures, Parsonages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the University to Lett or Bestow, these his Lordship and his Servants have so fleeced, shorn and scraped already, that there remaineth little to feed upon hereafter.

Albeit, he wanteth not still his Spies and Intelligencers in the Place, to advertise him from time to time, when any little new Morsel is offered. And the principal Instruments, which for his Purpose he

hath had there before this, have been two Physicians, Bayley and Culpepper, both known Papists a little while ago, but now just of Galen's Religion, and so much the fitter for my Lord's Humour; for his Lordship doth always covet to be furnished with certain chosen Men about him for divers Affairs, as these two Galenists for Agents in the University. Dee and Allen, two Atheists, for Figuring and Contriving: Julio, the Italian, and Loper the Jew, for Poisoning, and for the Art of Destroying Children in Womens Bellies. Darney's for Murthering, and Digby's for Bawds, and the like in other Occupations which his Lordship exerciseth.

Wherefore to return unto the Speech where we began, most clear it is, that my Lord of Leicester hath Means to gain and gather also by the University, as well as by the Country abroad, wherein he beareth himself so absolute a Lord, as if he were their King, and not their Chancellor. Nay, far more than if he were their general and particular Founder of all the Colleges, and other Houses of the University, no Man daring to contrary or interrupt the least Word or Signification of his Will, but with his extream Danger: Which is a Proceeding more fit for Phalaris the Tyrant, or some Governor in Tartary, than for a Chancellor of a Learned University.

To this (answered the Lawyer) for my Lord's Wrath towards such as will not stand to his Judgment and Opinion, I can my self be a sufficient

Witness, who having had often occasion to deal for Composition of Matters betwixt his Lordship and others, have seen by experience, that always they have sped best, who stood least in Contention with him, whatsoever their Case were. For as a great and violent River, the more it is stopped and contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth big, and in the end dejecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: So his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realm, and accustomed to have his Will in all things, cannot bear to be crossed and resisted by any Man, though it were in his own necessary Defence.

Hereof I have seen Examples in the Causes of Snowden Forest in Wales, of Denbeigh, of Killingworth, of Drayton, and others, where the Parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had been happy, if they had yielded at the first to his Lordship's Pleasure, without further question, for then they had escaped much Trouble, Charges, Displeasure and Vexation, which by resistance they incurred to their great Ruine, and loss of Life to some, and in the end were fain also to submit themselves to his Will, with far worse Conditions, than in the beginning were offered unto them, which thing was pitiful indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lord's Disposition.

A noble Disposition (quoth the Gentleman) that I must give him my Coat if he demand the same, and

that quickly, also for fear, lest if I stagger and make doubt thereof, he compel me to yield both Coat and Dublet in performance of my Stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World, marry, their End was always according to their Life, as it is very like it will be also in this Man, for that there is very small hope of his Amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such Matters unpunished in this Life, as well as in the Life to come.

But I pray you, Sir, seeing the Motion is now made of the former Oppressions so much talked of throughout the Realm, that you will take the pains to explain the Substance thereof unto me.

For, albeit, in general, every Man doth know the same, and in Heart doth detest the Tyranny thereof, yet we abroad in the Country, do not understand it so well and distinctly as you that be Lawyers, who have seen and understood the whole Process of the same.

The Case of Killingworth and Denbeigh (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter, and manner of Proceeding, though different in time, place and importance: For that the Lordship of Denbeigh in North-Wales being given unto him by her Majesty, a great while ago, at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great Importance in that Country, having as I have heard well near 200 Worshipful Gentlemen Free-holders to the same) the Tenants of the Place, considering the present state of

things, and having learned the hungry disposition of their new Lord, made a common Purse of 2000*l.* to present him withal, at his first entrance; which though he received (as he refuseth nothing) yet accounted he the same of small effect for satisfactiou of his Appetite, and therefore applyed himself, not only to make the uttermost that he could by Leases, and such like ways of Commodity, but also would needs inforce the Free-holders to raise their old Rent from 250*l.* a year, or thereabouts; at which rate he had received the same in gift from her Majesty unto Eight or Nine Hundred Pounds by the Year, for that he had (forsooth) an old Record (as he saith) whereby he could prove that in Ancient time long past, that Lordship had yielded so much Rent, and therefore he now would inforce the present Tenants to make so much again upon their Lands, which they thought was against all Reason for them to do; but my Lord per force would have it so, and in the end compelled them to yeild to his Will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Country about.

The like Proceedings he used with the Tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift from 24*l.* Yearly Rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better now then 500*l.* by Year, by an old Record also found by great fortune in a Hole of the Wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out Records for his purpose) by vertue whereof he hath

taken from his Tenants round about their Lands, Woods, Pastures and Commons to make himself Parks, Chases and other Commodities therewith, to the Subversion of many a good Family, which was maintained there before this Devourer set foot in that Country.

But the matter of Snowden Forest doth pass all the rest, both for Cunning and Cruelty; the Tragedy whereof was this: He had learned by his Intelligences abroad (whereof he hath great store in every part of the Realm) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in North-Wales, which hath most infinite Borders about the same; for it lyeth in the midst of the Country, beginning at the Hills of Snowden (whereof it hath its Name) in Canarvanshire, and reacheth every way towards divers other Shires.

When my Lord heard of this, he entred presently into the conceit of a singular great Prey, and going to her Majesty, signified that her Highness was oftentimes abused by the encroaching of such as dwelt upon the Forests, which was necessarily to be restrained.

And therefore beseeched her Majesty to bestow on him the Incroachments only which he should be able to find out upon the Forest of Snowden; which was granted: And thereupon he chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into Wales, with the like Commission, as a certain Emperor was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him

to Govern, as Suetonius writeth, *Scitis quid velim, et quibus opus habeo*, you know what I would have, and what I have need of; which recommendation these Commissioners taking to Heart omitted no diligence in execution of the same. And so going into Wales, by such means as they used, by setting one Man to accuse another, brought quickly all the Country round about in 3 or 4 Shires, within the Compass of Forest Ground, and so entred upon the same for my Lord of Leicester.

Whereupon the Peoble being amazed, and expecting, what order my Lord himself would take therein; his Lordship was so far off from refusing any part of that which his Commissioners had presented, and offered him, as he would yet stretch the Forest beyond the Seas, into the Isle of Anglesey, and make that also within the Compass and Bounds.

Which when the Commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing by their complaining, and crying out of this Tyranny, they appointed to send some number of themselves to London, to make Supplication to the Prince, and so they did, choosing out for that purpose a Dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Country of Lyne, to deal for the whole, who coming to London, and exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for Redress of their Oppression, received answer by the procurement of my Lord of Leicester, that they should have Justice if the Commonalty would return home to their

Houses, and the Gentlemen remain here to sollicite the Cause; which as soon as they had yielded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken, and cast into Prison, and there kept for a great space; and afterwards were sent down to Ludlow (as the place most eminent of all the Countrys) there to wear Paper of Perjury, and receive other Punishments of Infamy for their Complaining: Which Punishments, notwithstanding afterwards, upon great suit of the Parties, and their Friends were turned into great Fines of Money, which they were constrained to pay; and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of Leicester for their own Lands, acknowledging them to be his, and so to buy them of him again: By Reason whereof not only these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Country thereabouts, was, and is, in manner utterly undone.

And the participation of this Injury reacheth so far and wide, and is so general in these parts, as you shall scarce find a Man that cometh from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof, being either Impoverished, Beggared or Ruinated thereby.

Whereby I assure you, that the hatred of all that is so universal and vehement against my Lord, as I think never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation as the very Name of my Lord of Leicester is; which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but he will take heed how he goeth thither to dwell, or send thither his Posterity. For his Posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose he hath little cause

to be sollicitous; for that God himself taketh care commonly, that Goods and Honours so gotten, and so maintained as his be, shall never trouble the Third Heir.

Marry, for himself I confess, the matter standeth as you say, that he hath Reason to forbear that Country, and to leave off his Buildings begun at Denbeigh, as I hear say he hath done, for that the universal Hatred of a People is a perilous matter.

And if I were in his Lordship's Case, I should often think of the end of Nero, who after all his Glory, upon the Fury of the People, was adjudged to have his Head thrust into a Pillory, and so to be beaten to Death with Rods and Thongs. Or rather, I should fear the Success of Vitellius the Third, Emperor after Nero, who for his Wickedness and Oppression of the People, was taken by them at length, when Fortune began to fail him, and led out of his Pallace naked, with Hooks of Iron fastened in his Flesh, and so drawn through the City with Infamy, where laden in the Streets with Filth and Ordure cast upon him, and a Prick put under his Chin, to the end he should not look down, or hide his Face, was brought to the Bank of Tyber, and there after many Hundred Wounds received, was cast into the River.

So implacable a thing it is to incur the Fury of a Multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of Revenge; and so heavy is the Hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaseth his Divine

Majesty to take Revenge of the same. I have read in Leander his Description of Italy, how that in Spoleto (if I be not deceived) the Chief City of the Country of Umbria, there was a strange Tyrant, who in the time of his Prosperity, contemned all Men, and forbeared to injure no Man that came within his Claws, esteeming himself sure enough for ever, being called to render an account of this Life, and for the next he cared little. But God upon a sudden turned upside down his Felicity, and cast him into the People's Hands, who took him, and bound his Naked Body upon a Block in the Market-place, with a Fire and Iron Tongs by him, and then made Proclamation, that seeing this Man was no otherwise able to make Satisfaction for his publick Injuries that he had done, every private Person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hot burning Tongs there ready, should take of his Flesh so much as was correspondent to the Injury received, as indeed they did, until the miserable Man gave up the Ghost, and after too, as this Author writeth.

But to the purpose, seeing my Lord little careth for such Examples, and is become so hardy now, as he maketh no account to injure whole Countrys and Commonalities together, it shall be bootless to speak of his proceedings towards particular Men, who have not so great strength to resist as a multitude hath.

Yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pitiful things published daily of his Tyranny in

this kind, as do move great Compassion towards the Party that doth suffer, and horror against him who shameth not dayly to offer such Injury.

As for Example: Whose Heart would but bleed to hear the Case before mentioned of Mr. Robinson of Staffordshire, a proper young Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and other Vertues; whose Father died at New-haven in her Majesty's Service, under this Man's Brother the Earl of Warwick, and recommended at his Death, this his eldest Son to the special protection of Leicester, and his Brother, whose Servant also this Robinson had been from his Youth upwards, and spent the most part of his Living in his Service: Yet notwithstanding all this, when Robinson's Lands were entangled with a Londoner upon Interest, for his former Maintainance in their Service, whose Title my Lord of Leicester, though craftily, yet not covertly under Ferris his Cloak, had gotten to himself, ceased not to pursue the poor Gentleman even to Imprisonment, Arraignment and Sentence of Death, for greediness of the said living, together with the vexation of his Brother-in-law, Mr. Harlecourt, and all other his Friends, upon pretence forsooth, that there was a Man slain by Robinson's party, in defence of his own possession, against Leicester's Intruders, that would by violence break into the same.

What should I speak of others, whereof there would be no end? As of his dealings with Mr.

Richard Lee for his Mannor of Hook-Norton (if I fail not in the Name) with Mr. Lowick Grevil, by seeking to bereave him of all his Living at once, if the drift had taken place: With George Whitney, in the behalf of Sir Henry Leigh, for enforcing him to forego the Controulership of Woodstock, which he holdeth by Patent from King Henry the 7th: Which my Lord Barkley, whom he enforceth to yeild up his Lands to his Brother Warwick, which his Ancestors had held quietly, for almost 200 Years together.

What shall I say of his intollerable Tyranny upon the last Bishop of Canterbury, for Dr. Julio's sake, and that in so foul a matter? upon Sir John Throgmorton whom he brought pitifully to his Grave, by continual vexations, for a peice of faithful Service, done by him to his Country, and to all the Line of King Henry against this Man's Father, in King Edward's and Queen Mary's Days? Upon divers of the Lands for one man's sake of that Name before mentioned, that offered to take Killingworth Castle? Upon some of the Gifford's, and others for Throgmorton's sake? For that is also his Lordship's Disposition, for one Man's sake, or Cause, whom he brooketh not, to plague a whole Generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allyed to the same: His endless persecuting of Sir Drew Drury, and many other Courtiers, both Men and Women.

All these, I say, and many other, who daily suffer Injuries, Rapines and Oppressions at his Hands,

throughout the Realm, what should it avail to name them in this place, seeing neither his Lordship careth any thing for the same, neither the parties aggrieved, are like to obtain any Release of Affliction thereby, but rather double Oppression for their complaining. Wherefore, to return again, whereat we began: You see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of Man my Lord of Leicester is this Day in the State of England, you see and may gather in some part, by that which hath been already spoken, his Wealth, his Strength, his Cunning, his Disposition.

His Wealth is excessive in all kind of Riches, for a private man, and must needs be much more than any body can likely imagin, for the infinite ways he hath had of gain so many years together; his Strength and Power is absolute and irresistable, both in Chamber, Court, Counsel and Country.

His Cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Counter-mines, by Trenches, Bulwarks, Flankers and Rampiers, by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures or Dependants, or any other may serve his turn, is very rare and singular.

His disposition to Cruelty, Murther, Treason and Tyranny, and by all these to supream Sovereignty over others is most evident and clear.

And then judge you whether her Majesty that now reigneth (whose Life and Prosperity the Lord in Mercy long preserve) have not just cause to fear, in respect

of these things only; if there were no other Particulars to prove his aspiring intent.

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great matters in the question of such a case, as is a Crown, and we have seen by Example of the least of these Four, which you have here named, or rather some little Branch contained in any of them, hath been sufficient to have found just Suspicion, Distrust or Jealousie in the Heads of most wise Princes, towards the Proceedings of more assured Subjects then my Lord of Leicester in Reason may be presumed to be.

For that, the Safety of the State and Prince standeth not only in the readiness and ability of resisting open attempts, when they shall fall out, but also (and that much more as statutes write) in a certain provident Watchfulness of preventing all possibilities and likely-hoods of Danger or Oppression: For that no Prince commonly will put himself to the Courtesy of another man be he never so obliged, whether he shall obtain his Crown, or no, seeing the Cause of a Kingdom acknowledgeth neither Kindred, Duty, Faith, Friendship nor Society.

I know not, whether I do expound or declare my self well or no; but my meaning is, that whereas every Prince hath two points of assurance from his Subjects, the one that he is faithful, and lacketh Will to annoy his Sovereign, the other for that he is weak, and wanteth ability to do the same: The first is always of more importance than the second, and con-

sequently more to be eyed and observed in Policy, for that our Will may be changed at our Pleasure but not our Ability.

Considering then upon that which hath been said and specified before, how that my Lord of Leicester hath possessed himself of all the strength power and sinews of this Realm, and hath made his Party so strong, as it seemeth not resistable, you have great Reason to say, that Her Majesty may justly conceive some doubt; for that if his Will were according to his Power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in safety.

Say not so good Sir (saith the Scholar) for in such a case truly I would repose little upon his Will, who is so many ways apparent to be most insatiable of Ambition: Rather would I think, that as yet his ability serves not either for Time, Place, Force or some other circumstance, then that any part of good will should want in him, seeing that not only his desire of Sovereignty, but also his intent and attempts to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared by the very Particulars of his Powers and Plots already set down; which if you have patience to hear a Scholar's argument, by a principle out of philosophy is thus proved.

For if it be true, what Aristotle saith, that there is no Agent which worketh not for some final end; as the Bird buildeth not her Nest but to dwell, and hath her young ones therein, and not only this, but also that the same Agent doth always frame his work

according to the proportion of his intended end; as when the Fox or the Badger maketh a wide Earth or Den, it is a sign that he meaneth to draw thither great store of prey: Then must we also in Reason think, that so Wise, Politick and Fox-like an Agent as is my Lord of Leicester himself, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his; I mean an end proportionable in greatness to his preparations; which end can be no less, nor meaner then supream Sovereignty, seeing his provision and furniture do tend that way, and are in every point full correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of his Prince's person? his taking up the ways and passages about her, his Insolency in Court, his singularily in Counsel, his violent preparation abroad, his enriching of his Complices, the banding of his Faction with the abundance of Friends everywhere? What do these things signifie I say, and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before, but only his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past, in his Father, but even that which they now portend in his Son? Or how shall we think that the Son hath another meaning in the very same Actions, then his Father had before him, whose steps he followeth?

I remember, that I have heard of divers ancient and grave men in Cambridge, how that in King Edward's days, the Duke of Northumberland, this

man's Father, was generally thought of all men to mean indeed, as afterwards he shewed; especially when he had once joyned with the House of Suffolk, and made himself a principal of that Faction by Marriage; but yet for that he was potent, and protested every where his great Love, Duty and special Care, above all others, that he bare towards his Prince and Country; no man durst accuse him openly, until it was too late to withstand his power, as commonly it falleth out in such Affairs: And the like is evident in my Lord of Leicester's actions (now albeit to her Majesty I doubt not but that he will pretend and protest as his Father did to her Brother) especially now, after his open Association with the Faction of Huntingdon, who no less impugneth under this man's protection, the whole Line of Henry the 7th for right of the Crown, then the House of Suffolk did under his Father, the particular progeny of Henry the 8th.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I do not read in King Edward's Reign (when the matter notwithstanding was in plotting) that the House of Suffolk durst ever make open claim to the next Succession; but now the House of Hastings is become so confident upon the Strength and Favour of their Fautors, as they dare both plot, practice and pretend all at once, and fear not to set out their Title in every place whereat they came.

And do they not fear the Statute (saith the Lawyer)

so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter Treason to determine of Titles.

Nay they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: Seeing also they know, that the procurement of that Statute was only to endanger, or stop the mouths of the true Successors, whilst themselves in the mean space went about under-hand, to establish their own Ambushments.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretenee of my Lord of Huntingdon's Title to the Crown, I will not stand with you, for it is a matter sufficiently known and seen throughout the Realm: As also, that my Lord of Leicester is at this day a principal Favourer and patron of the cause, albeit some years past, he were an earnest Adversary and Enemy to the same.

But yet I have heard some Friends of his in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two which you have touched here, and so seem to believe the same.

And that is, first, howsoever my Lord of Leicester doth mean to help his Friend, when time shall serve; yet pretendeth he nothing to the Crown himself.

The Second is, that whatsoever may be meant for the Title, for compassing of the Crown, after her Majesty's death; yet nothing is intended during her Reign. And of both these points they alledge Reasons.

As for the first, that my Lord of Leicester is very

well known to have no Title to the Crown himself, either by descent in Blood, Alliance, or otherwise: For the second, that his Lordship hath no cause to be a malecontent in the present Government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of Huntington were King to morrow next, then he receiveth now at her Majesty's Hand, having all the Realm at his own disposition.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether he meaneth the Crown for himself, or for his Friend it importeth not much, seeing both ways it is evident he meaneth to have all at his disposition.

And albeit now for avoiding of envy, he gave it out as a crafty Fox, that he meaneth not but to run with other men, and to hunt with Huntingdon, and other Hounds in the same Chase: Yet it is not unlike, but he will play the Bear, when he cometh to the dividing of the Prey, and will snatch the best part unto himself.

Yea, and these self same Persons of his Train and Faction, whom you call his Friends, though in publick to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole Matter and Plot, they must and will deny the matters to be so meant, yet otherwise, they both think, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speak it, and amongst themselves it is their talk of Consolation. The Words of his special Counsellor the Lord North are known, which he uttered to his trusty Pooly, upon receipt of a Letter from the Court,

of her Majesty's Displeasure towards him, for being a Witness at Leicester's second Marriage with Dame Lettice (although I know he was not ignorant of the first) at Wainstead, of which Displeasure this Lord making far less account then in reason he should, of the just offence of his Sovereign, said, that for his own part he was resolved to sink or swim with my Lord of Leicester; who (saith he) if the Cards may once come to shuffling (I will use but his own words) I make no doubt but he alone shall bear away the Bucklers.

The words of Sir Thomas Layton to Sir Henry Nevil, walking upon the turrets of Windsor are known, who told him after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdom, that he doubted not, but to see him one day hold the same Office in Windsor of my Lord of Leicester, which now my Lord did hold of the Queen; meaning thereby the goodly Office of Constableship, with all Royalties and Honours belonging to the same; which now the said Sir Henry exercised only as Deputy to the Earl, which was plainly to signifie that he doubted not but to see my Lord of Leicester one day King, or else his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to pass.

To the same point tended the Words of Mrs. Ann West, Dame Lettice's Sister unto the Lady Ann Askew, in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother Robert Knowles had danced disgracefully and scornfully before the Queen, in presence of the French-

men, which thing her Majesty believ'd to proceed of ill-will in him, both for the dislike of the Strangers in Presence, and for the Quarrel of his Sister Essex, it pleased her Majesty to check him for the same; with Addition of a Reproachful Word or two, full well deserved, as though done for despight of the forced absence from that place of Honour of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the Words) his Sister.

Which words the other young Twig receiving in great dudgion, brake forth in great Choller to her forenamed Companion, and said, that she should see her Sister, upon whom the Queen railed (for so it pleased her to term her Majesties sharp Speech) to sit in her Place and Throne, being much worthier of the same, for her Qualities and rare Vertues, than was the other; which undutiful Speech, albeit, it were overheard, and condemned of divers that sate about them, yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty, as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirm, in respect of the Revenge which the Reporters should abide at my Lord of Leicester's Hand, whensoever the Matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the Opinion and Secret Speech of my Lord's own Friends, who cannot but utter their Conceits and Judgment in Time and Place convenient, whatsoever they are willing to give out publickly to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will believe fair painted words, against evident and plain Demonstration of Reason, I say Reason, for

that if none of these Signs and Tokens were, none of these Preparations, nor any of these Speeches and Detections by his Friends, that know his Heart, should be yet in force of plain Reason, I could alledge you three Arguments only, which to any Man of Intelligence, would easily perswade, and give Satisfaction, that my Lord of Leicester meaneth first, and principally for himself in this Suit: Which three Arguments, for that you seem to be attent, I will not stick to run over in all brevity.

The first is, the very Nature and Quality of Ambition it self, which is such (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from Degree to Degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it coveteth, and esteemeth it self both worthy and able to obtain, and in our Matter that now we handle, even as in Wooing, he that sueth to a Lady for another, and obtaineth her Good-will, entreth easily into a Conceit of his own Worthiness thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himself, while he speaketh for his Friend.

So much more in Kingdoms, he that seeth himself of Power able to put the Crown upon another Man's Head, will quickly step to the next Degree, which is to set it on his own: Seeing the Charity of such good Men is wont to be so orderly, as according to the Precept, it beginneth with it self first.

Again, we see that Ambition is jealous, suspicious and fearful of it self, especially when it is joyned with a Conscience, over charged with the Guilt of many

Crimes, whereof it would be loath to be accountable to any Man, that might by authority take a review of his Life and Actions when it should please him. In which kind, seeing my Lord of Leicester hath so much to increase, as before hath been shewed by his wicked Doings, it is not like, that ever he will put himself to another Man's Curtesie, for passing his Credit in particular Reckonings, which he can no way answer or satisfie, but rather will stand upon the gross Sum, and general *quietus est*, by making himself chief Auditor and Master of all Accounts; for his own part in this Life, howsoever he do in the next, whereof such Humours have little Regard, and this for the Nature of Ambition it self.

The second Argument may be taken from my Lord's own particular Disposition, which is such as may also give much Light to the Matter in question, being a Disposition, so well liking and inclining to a Kingdom, as it hath been hammering about the same from the first day that he came in Favour.

First, by seeking openly to Marry with the Queen's Majesty her self, and so draw the Crown upon his own Head, and so to his Posterity.

When that Attempt took no place, then he gave it out, as hath been shewed before, how that he was privily contracted to her Majesty, wherein, as I have told his Dealing before for Satisfaction of a Stranger, so let him with Shame and Dishonor, remember now also the Spectacle he secretly made for the perswading

of a Subject and Counsellor of great Honor in the Cause (I mean the Noble Earl of Pembrook) to the end, that if her Highness should by any way have miscarried, then he might have Entituled any one of his own Brood, whereof he hath store in many Places (as is known) to the Lawful Succession of the Crown under the Colour of that Privy and Secret Marriage with her Majesty, wherein he will want no witness to dispose what he will.

END OF VOL. III

Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

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SECRET MEMOIRS

OF

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

THIRDLY, When he saw also that this Device was subject to Danger, for that his Privy Contract might be denied more easily, then he was able justly to prove the same after her Majesties Decease, he had a new fetch to strengthen the Matter, and that was to cause these words of (Natural Issue) to be put into the Statute of Succession for the Crown, against all Order and Custom of the Realm, and against all known common Stile of the Law, accustomed to be used in Statutes of such a Nature, whereby he might be able, after the death of Her Majesty to make Legitimate unto the Crown,

any one Bastard of his own, by any of so many Hackneys as he keepeth, affirming it to be the Natural Issue of her Majesty by himself: For no other Reason can be imagined, why the ancient usual words of Lawful Issue should so cunningly be changed into Natural Issue, thereby not only to indanger a whole Realm with new Quarrels of Succession, but also to touch as far as in him lieth, the Royal Honor of his Sovereign, who hath been to him but too Bountiful a Princess.

Fourthly, When after a time, these Fetches and Devices began to be discovered, he changed straight his Course, and turned to the Papist and Scottish Faction, pretending the Marriage of the Queen in Prison. But yet, after this, again, finding therein not such Success as contented him thoroughly, and having in the mean space a new Occasion offered of Bayl, he betook himself Fifthly to the Party of Huntingdon, having thereby, no doubt, as good meaning to himself, as his Father by joyning with Suffolk. Marry, yet of late he hath a new about once again for himself in secret, by treating the Marriage of young Arabella with his Son, Entituled, the Lord Denbeigh.

So that by this we see the Disposition of this Man, bent wholly to a Scepter; and albeit, in right Title, and Descent of Blood (as you say) he can iustly claim neither Kingdom nor Cottage, considering either the Baseness or Disloyalty of his Ancestors, yet in respect of his present State and Power, and of his Natural Pride, Ambition, and Crafty Conveyance received from his

Father, he hath learned how to put himself first in Possession of Chief Rule under other Pretences, and after to device upon the Title at his leisure.

But now to come to the third Argument, I say, that more, and above all this the Nature and State of the Matter it self, permitteth not, that my Lord of Leicester should mean sincerely the Crown for Huntingdon, especially, seeing there hath passed between them so many Years of Dislike and Enmity, which, albeit, for the time, and present Commodity be covered and pressed down, yet by Reason and Experience, we know, that afterwards, when they shall deal together in Matters of Importance, and when Jealousie shall be joyned to other Circumstances of their Actions, it is impossible that the former Dislike should not break out in far higher degree than ever before, as we shewed before in the Examples of the Reconciliation made betwixt this Man's Father, and Edward, Duke of Somerset, who bare Rule under King Edward the 6th. Both which Dukes of Somerset after Reconciliation made with their old, crafty and ambitious Enemies, were brought by the same to Destruction soon after.

Wherefore, I doubt not, but my Lord of Leicester will take good heed by injoyning by Reconciliation with Huntingdon, after so long a Breach, and will not be so improvident, as to make him his Head, who now is but his Dependant.

He remembreth too well the Success of the Lord

Stanley, who helped King Henry the 7th to the Crown: Of the Duke of Buckingham, who did the same for Richard the Third, of the Earl of Warwick, who set up King Edward the 4th. and of the three Percies, who advanced to the Scepter King Henry the 4th.

All which Noble-men, upon Occasions, which after fell out, were rewarded with Death by the self-same Princes, whom they had preferred.

And that not without reason (as Signior Matchiavel affirmeth) for that such Princes afterwards can never give sufficient Satisfaction to such Friends for so great a Benefit received. And consequently, least upon Discontent, they may chance to do as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others, the surest way is to Recompence them with such a Reward as they shall never after be able to complain of.

Wherefore, I can never think, that my Lord of Leicester will put himself in danger of the like Success at Huntingdon's Hands, but rather will follow the Plot of his own Father with the Duke of Suffolk, whom, no doubt he meant only to use for a help, whereby to place himself in Supream Dignity, and afterwards whatsoever had befallen to the State, the other's Head would never have come to other end than it enjoyed. For if Queen Mary had not cut it off, King John of Northumberland would have done the same in time, and so all Men do know that privy to any of his cunning Dealings.

And what Huntingdon's secret Opinion is of Leicester (notwithstanding this outward shew of Dependance) it was my chance to learn from the Mouth of a specal Man of that hasty King, who was his Leiger or Agent in London; at a time falling in talk of his Master's Title, declared, that he had heard him divers times in secret complain to his Lady, Leicester's Sister, as greatly fearing, that in the end he would suffer Wrong, and pretend some Title for himself.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many Secrets and Mysteries be there abroad in the World, whereof we simple Men know nothing, and suspect less. This Watchword should I never have imagined.

And for the great and often Assemblies, under pretence of Communions, though of themselves, and of their nature, they were not accustomed, and consequently subject to Suspicion, yet I never conceived so far as now I do, as neither of the Lodging and Entertaining so many Strangers in the Realm, whereof our Artizans do complain every where; but now I see the cause thereof, which, no doubt is founded upon great Reason for the Purpose. And by this also, I see that the House of Huntingdon presseth far forward to the Game, and shouldreth near the Goal to lay hands upon the same, which, to tell you plain, liketh me but a little, both in respect of the good will I bear unto the whole Line of King Henry, which hereby is like to be dispossessed; as also for the misery which I

fear must necessarily ensue upon our Country, if once the challenge of Huntingdon take place in our Realm.

Touching Huntingdon's Title before her Majesty's (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing, because in Reason I see not by what pretence in the World he may thrust himself so far forth, seeing her Majesty is descended, not only of the house of Lancaster, but also before him most apparently from the House of York it self, as from the eldest Daughter of King Edward the 4th, being the eldest Brother of the House.

Whereas Huntingdon claimeth only by the daughter of George Duke of Clarence, the younger Brother: But yet I must confess that if the Earl of Warwick's Title were better then that of King Henry the 7th, (which is most false, though many attempt to defend the same by Sword) then hath Huntingdon some wrong at this day by her Majesty, albeit, in very truth, the attaint of so many of his Ancestors, by whom he claimeth, would answer him also sufficiently in that behalf, if his Title were otherwise allowable.

The Controversie between the Houses of York and Lancaster (quoth the Lawyer) took its actual beginning more than two hundred Years ago, but the Occasion, Pretence and Cause of that Quarrel, began in the Children of King Henry the Third, who died a Hundred Years before that, and left two Sons, Edward, who was King after him, by the Name of Edward the first, and was Grandfather to Edward the third,

Edmund, called Crook-back, Earl of Lancaster, and beginner of that House, whose Inheritance, afterward in the fourth Descent, fell upon a Daughter, Named Blaunch, who was Married to the fourth Son of King Edward the third, named John of Gaunt, for that he was born in the City of Gaunt in Flanders : So that by this his first Wife he became Duke of Lancaster, and Heir of that House.

And for that his Son Henry of Bullingbrook (afterwards called King Henry the fourth) pretended amongst other things, that Edmund Crookback, great Grandfather to Blaunch his Mother, was the eldest Son of King Henry the third, and unjustly put by the Inheritance of the Crown, for that he was Crookback'd and Deformed. He took by force the Kingdom from Richard the second, Nephew to King Edward the third, by his eldest Son, and placed the same in the House of Lancaster, where it remained for three whole Descents, until afterwards Edward, Duke of York Descended of John of Gaunt's younger Brother, making Claim to the Crown by the Title of his Grandfather, that was Heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt's elder Brother, took the same by force from Henry the 6th, of the House of Lancaster, and brought it back again to the House of York, where it continued with Trouble in two Kings only, until both Houses were joyned together in King Henry the seventh and his Noble Issue.

Hereby we see, how the Issue of John of Gaunt

Duke of Lancaster, fourth Son to King Edward the third, pretended Right to the Crown, by Edmund Crookback, before the Issue of all the other three Sons of Edward the third, albeit, they were the elder Brothers, whereof we will speak more hereafter.

Now, John of Gaunt, though he had many Children, yet had he four, only, by whom Issue remaineth, two Sons and two Daughters. The first Son was Henry of Bullingbrook, Duke of Lancaster, who took the Crown from King Richard the second, his Uncle's Son (as hath been said) and first of all planted the same in the House of Lancaster, where it ramained in two Descents after him; that is in his Son, Henry the fifth, and in his Nephew, Henry the sixth, who was afterwards destroyed with Henry, Prince of Wales, his only Son and Heir, and consequently all that Line of Henry of Bullingbrook extinguished by Edward the fourth, of the House of York. The other Son of John of Gaunt, was John, Earl of Somerset, by Katherine Swinford, his third Wife, which John had Issue, another Duke of Somerset, and he had Issue, Margaret his Daughter, and Heir, who being Married with Edmund Tuder, Earl of Richmond, had Issue, Henry, Earl of Richmond, who after was named King Henry the seventh, whose Line yet indureth. The two Daughters of John of Gaunt were Married to Portugal and Castile, that is, Philip, born of Blaunch, Heir to Edmund Crookback (as hath been said) was Married to King

John of Portugal, and the other Princes, which have, or make Title to the same, and Katherine, born of Constance, Heir of Castile, was Married back again to Henry, King of Castile in Spain, of whom King Philip is also descended.

So that by this we see, where the remainder of the House of Lancaster resteth, if the Line of King Henry the seventh were extinguished, and what Pretext Foreign Princes may have to subdue us, if my Lord of Huntingdon, either now, or after her Majesties Days, will open to them the Door, by shutting out the rest of King Henry's Line, and by drawing back the Title of the only House of York again, which he pretendeth to do, upon this that I will now declare.

King Edward the Third, albeit, he had many Children, yet five only will we speak of at this time, whereof three were elder than John of Gaunt, and one younger.

The first of the elder was named Edward the Black Prince, who died before his Father, leaving one only Son, named Richard the second, was deposed without Issue, and put to death by his Cousin Germain, Henry Bullingbrook, Duke of Lancaster, Son to John of Gaunt (as hath been said) and there ended the Line of King Edward's first Son, King Edward's second Son was William of Hatfield, who died without Issue.

His third Son was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, whose

only Daughter and Heir, called Philip, was Married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and after that, Ann the Daughter and Heir of Mortimer was Married to Richard Plantagonet, Duke of York, Son and Heir of Edmund of Langley, the first Duke of York, which Edmund was the first Son of King Edward the third, and younger Brother to John of Gaunt. And this Edmund of Langley may be called the first beginner of the House of York, even as Edmund Crookback the beginner of the House of Lancaster. This Edmund Langley then having a Son, named Richard, that Married Ann Mortimer, sole Heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, joyned two Lines, and two Titles in one, I mean the Line of Lionel, and the Line of Edmund Langley, who were (as hath been said) the third and fifth sons of King Edward the third. And for this cause the Child that was born of this Marriage, named after his Father Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, seeing himself strong, and the first Line of King Edward the third's eldest Son, to be extinguished in the death of King Richard the second, and seeing likewise William of Hatfield, the second Son, died without Issue, made demand of the Crown for the House of York, by the Title of Lionel, the third Son of King Edward the third.

And albeit, he could not obtain the same in his days, for that he was slain in a Battle against King Henry the 6th at Wakefield, yet his son Edward got the same, and was called by the name of King Edward the fourth.

This King at his death left divers Children, as, namely, Edward the fift, and his Brother, who after were both Murthered in the Tower, as shall be shewed, and also five Daughters, to wit, Elizabeth, Cicely, Anne, Katherine and Bridget; whereof the first was Married to King Henry the seventh, the last became a Nun, and the other three were bestowed upon divers other Husbands.

He had also two Brothers, the first was called, George, Duke of Clarence, who afterwards upon his deserts (as is to be supposed) was put to death by Commandment of the King.

And this Man left behind him a Son, called Edward, Earl of Warwick, put to death afterwards without Issue by King Henry the seventh, and a Daughter, named Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was Married to a mean Gentleman, named Richard Poole, by whom she had Issue, Cardinal Poole, who died without marriage, and Henry Poole, who was Attainted and Executed in King Henry the eighth's time, as also her self was. And this Henry Poole left a Daughter, married afterward to the Earl of Huntingdon, by whom this Earl that now is, maketh Title to the Crown. And this is the effect of my Lord of Huntingdon's Title?

The second Brother of King Edward the fourth, was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who after the King's death, caused his two Sons to be Murthered in the Tower, and took the Kingdom to himself, and

afterward he being slain by King Henry the seventh at Bosworth-field, left no Issue behind him.

Wherefore King Henry the seventh descending (as hath been shewed) of the House of Lancaster by John of Gaunt's last Son, and third Wife, and taking to Wife Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of King Edward the fourth of the House of York, joyned most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all Controversies about the Title.

Now King Henry the seventh had Issue three Children, of whom remained Posterity: First, Henry the eighth, of whom descended our Sovereign her Majesty, that now happily Reigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line.

Secondly, He had two Daughters, whereof the first, named Margaret, was Married twice, first to James the fourth, King of Scotland, from whom are directly descended the Queen of Scotland, that now liveth and her Son. And King James being dead, Margaret was Married again to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Anguise, by whom she had a Daughter, named Margaret, which was Married to Matthew Steward, Earl of Lennox, whose Son, Charles Stewart, was Married to Elizabeth Candish, Daughter to the present Countess of Shrewsbury, and by her hath left his only Heir, a little Daughter, named Arabella, of whom you have had some Speech before. And this is touching the Line of Scotland, descended from the first and eldest Daughter of King Henry the seventh.

The second daughter of King Henry the 7th, called Mary, was twice married also, first to the King of France, by whom she had no Issue, and after his Death to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had two Daughters that is Frances, of whom my Lord of Hertford's Children do make their claim; and Eleanor, by whom the Issue of the Earl of Darby pretendeth Right, as shall be shewed.

For that Frances, the first Daughter of Charles Brandon, by the Queen of France, was married to the Marquess of Dorset, who after Charles Brandon's death, was made Duke of Suffolk, in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in Queen Mary's time for his Conspiracy with my Lord of Leicester's Father.

And she had by this Man three Daughters, that is, Jane that was married to my Lord of Leicester's Brother, and proclaimed Queen after King Edward's Death; for which both she and her Husband were executed.

Katherine the second Daughter, had two Sons yet living, by the Earl of Hertford; and Mary the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of Charles Brandon, by the Queen of France, called Eleanor, was married to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who left a Daughter by her, named Margaret, married to the Earl of Darby, which yet liveth and hath Issue.

And this is the Title of all the House of Suffolk, descended from the Second Daughter of Henry the

7th, married (as hath been shewed) to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

And by this you see also, how many there be, who do think their Titles to be far before that of my Lord of Huntingdon's, if either Right, Reason, or Consideration of home Affairs may take place in our Realm: Or, if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad are like to joyn and buckle with Huntingdon's Line for the Preheminence, if once the matter fall again to Contention, by excluding the Line of King Henry the seventh, which God forbid.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seen that which I did afterward, which was the most abject and base Behaviour of the said Duke to the same Earl of Arundel, at Cambridge, and upon the way towards London, when this Earl was sent to apprehend, and bring him up as a Prisoner; how he fell down on his Knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earl to be a good Lord unto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: You might have said that himself might as well be compared to this white Palfrey as the other: Albeit In this I will excuse neither of them both, nor almost any other of these great Men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous Fortunes, as they are easily led to contemn any Man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their Fortunes begin to change.

And so will my Lord of Leicester be also no doubt at that day, though now in his Wealth he triumphs over all, and careth not whom or how many he offend or injure.

Herein I believe you (quoth the Scholar) for we have had sufficient Trial of my Lord's fortitude in Adversity; his base and abject behaviour in his last Disgrace about his Marriage, well declareth what he would do in a matter of more Importance. His favouring and flattering of them whom he hath most his servile Speeches, he feigned and dissembled Tears, are all very well known. Then Sir Christopher Hatton must needs be enforced to receive at his hands the great and honourable Office of Chamberlainship at Chester, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no, and made him provide not without his Charge, to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared; for that the present Pang being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverb, of such as in Danger make Vows to Saints *Scampato ill Periclo, gabbato il Sancto*, the Danger escaped, the Saint is deceived. Then and in that Necessity, no Men of the Realm were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlain deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer living; to whom at a certain time he wrote a Letter in all Fraud and false Dissimulation, and caused the same to be delivered with great Cunning, in the sight of her Majesty, and yet so as it

shewed a Purpose that it should not be seen, to the end, her Highness might the rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did: For Mrs. Frances Howard, to whom the Stratagem was committed, played her Part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, near the Door of the Witch-drawing Chamber, he then coming from her Majesty; and to draw the Eye and Attention of Her Majesty the more unto it, she let fall the Paper before it touched the Lord Treasurer's Hands, by that occasion brought her Highness to call for the same; which after she had read, and considered the Stile, together with the Metal and Constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent, Her Majesty could not but break forth into Laughter, with detestation of such absurd and abject Dissimulation, saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present, "My Lord, believe him not, for if he had you in the like Case, he would play the Bear with you, though at this present he fawn upon you never so fast." But, now Sir, I pray you go forward in your Speech of Scotland, for there I remember you left off, when by occasion we fell into these Digressions.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) to return again to Scotland from whence we have digressed, most certain and evident it is to all the World, that all the Broils, Troubles and Dangers procured to the Prince in that Country, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that Title in our Realm, do

proceed from the drift and com-plott of these Conspirators; which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domestical and foreign, temporal and of Religion, must needs infer great Jeopardy also to Her Majesty's Person, and present Reign that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the Aspirors Ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more, by the nearness of their desired Prey. For as Soldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnisht City, are most fierce and furious when they have gotten and beaten down the Bulwarks round about; and as the greedy Burglarer, that hath pierced and broken down many Walls to come to a Treasury, is less patient of stay, stop and delay, when he cometh in sight of that which he desireth, or perceiveth only some Partition of Wainscoat or the like, betwixt his Fingers and the Coffers or Money-bags: So these men when they shall see the Succession of Scotland extinguished, together with all Friends and Favourers thereof, which are now to Her Majesty as Bulwarks, Walls, and great Obstacles to the Aspirers, and when they shall see only Her Majesty's Life and Person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery Desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitors by King Henry's Line) no doubt but it will be them a great prick and spur to dispatch her Majesty also; the nature of both Earls being consider'd; whereof the one killed his own Wife (as hath been shewed before) only upon a little vain hope of Marry-

ing a Queen; and the other being so far blinded, and born away with some furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of Ambition, and his own Mother when she was alive seem'd greatly to fear his Fingers, if once the matter should come so near, as her Life had but only stood in the way. For which cause the good Old Countess was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might dye before her Majesty (which happily was granted her) to the end, that least by standing in her Sons way (whom she saw to her grief furiously bent to wear a Crowns there might some dangerous extremity grow to her by that means, and if his own Mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty at his hands, and his Companions hands, when she only shall be the sole obstacle, of all their unbridled and impatient desires.

Clear it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearness of Aspirers to the Crown, endangereth greatly the present possession as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers Examples if need were. For when H. Bullengbrooke, Duke of Lancaster, saw not only Richard the II. without Issue, but also, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, that should have succeeded in the Crown, to be slain in Ireland, though before, as he thought, he meant, not to Usurp, yet seeing the possibility, and near cut that he had, was invited therewith to lay hands on his Soveragns Blood and Dignity, as he did. The like is thought of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, that he

never meant the murther of his Nephews, until he saw their Father dead and themselves in his own Hands, his Brother also Duke of Clarence dispatch'd, and his only Son and Heir the Earl of Warwick within his own power. Wherefore seeing it hath not pleased God Almighty, for causes to himself best known, to leave unto this noble Realm any Issue, by her most excellent Majesty, it hath been a point of great Wisdom, in my Opinion, and of great safety to her Highnesses Person, State and Dignity, to preserve hitherto the Line of the next Inheritors by the House of Scotland, (I mean both the Mother and the Son) whose deaths have been so diligently sought by the other Competitors, and had been long e're this atchiev'd, if her Majesty's own Wisdom and Royal Clemency, as is thought, had not been placed, principally upon the conservation thereof, from time to time, with Princely Providence, so long as it shall endure, must needs be a great safety and Fortress to her Majesty, not only against the claimes, aides, and annoyments of Foreign Princes, who will not be so forward to advance Foreign Titles, whilst so manifest Heirs remain at home, nor yet so willing in respect of Policy to help that Line to possession of the whole Island, but also against practises of Domestical aspersions, as you have shewed; in whose affairs, no doubt but these two Branches of Scotland are great Blocks, as also special Bulworks to her Majesty's Life and Person, seeing, as you say, these Compartners

make so little of all other, of that Line who shall ensue by order of succession. Marry yet of the two, I do think the Youth of Scotland to be of much more importance to be made away, both for that he may have Issue, and is like in time to be of more ability for defence of his own Inheritance; as also for that he being once dispatch'd, his Mother should soon ensue by one slight or other, which they would devise, unwilling to her Majesty. Albeit I must needs confess, that her Highness hath used most singular Prudence for the prevention thereof, in placing a Testament with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peer of our Realm, as the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose Fidelity and Constancy being nothing pliable to the other Faction, giveth them little to contentation. And for that cause the World seeth how many sundry and divers devices they have used daily to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his committed Charge.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himself, as though he had conceived some deep matter in his Head, and after a little pause he began to say as followeth. I cannot truly but marvel, when I compare some things of this Time and Government, with the doings of former Princes Progenitors to her Majesty, namely, of King Henry the VIIth, and King Henry the VIIIth, who had so vigilant an Eye to the collateral Line of King Edward the IVth, by his Brother of Clarence, as they

thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all peril. As may well appear by the Execution of Edward, Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to the said Duke of Clarence, and of Margaret his Sister, Countess of Salisbury, with the Lord Henry Montague her Son, by whose Daughter the Earl of Huntington now claimeth. All which were Executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at such times when no eminent danger could be much doubted by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line: of more Ability and Ambition, than ever any of his Ancestors were, maketh open Title and Claim to the Crown, with Plots, Packs and Preparations in most manifest Usurpation, against all Order, all Law, all rightful Succession, and against a special Statue provided in that behalf, yet is he permitted, born out, favoured, and friended therein, and no Man so hardy in Defence of her Majesty and Realm to control him for the same. It may be that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of Huntington's Fidelity, as Julius Cæsar was of Marcus Brutus, his dearest obliged Friend, of whose ambitious practices and aspiring, when Cæsar was advertised by his careful Friend, answer'd, That he well knew Brutus to be Ambitious, but I am sure (quoth he) that Brutus will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while Cæsar liveth, and after my death, let him shift for the same among

others as he can. But what insued? Surely I am loath to tell the event for annimations false, but yet all the world knoweth, that before many months passed, this most noble and clement Emperor was most pittifully Murthered by the same Brutus and his Partners in the publick Senate, when he least of all suspected such Treason. So dangerous a thing it is to be secure in a matter of so great sequel, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend preferment or interest by his death. Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case might be induced to have such a due care and regard of her own State and Royal Person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth, which containeth the bliss and calamity of so noble and worthy a Kingdom as this is. I know right well, that most excellent natures are always farthest off from difference in such people as profess Love, and are most bound by duty, and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely this confidence, so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable oft times in Princes, for that it goeth accompanied with so great peril, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect, principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the special hand he holdeth over Princes affairs, or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same. We know that the forenam'd Emperor Cæsar, hod not only the warning given him of the inclination and intent of Brutus to Usurpation,

but even the very day when he was going towards the very place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole Treason, with request to read the same presently, which he upon confidence omitted to do. We read also of Alexander the Great, how he was not only forbidden by a learned man to enter into Babilon whither he was then going, for that there was Treason meant against him in the same place, but also that he was foretold of Antipater's mischievous meaning against him in particular. But the young Prince having so well deserv'd force of Antipater, could not be brought to distrust the man that was so near unto him, and by that means was poyson'd at a Banquet by three Sons of Antipater that were most of credit and confidence in the King's Chamber.

Here truly my Heart did somewhat tremble with fear, horror and detestation of such events, and I said unto the Gentleman, I beseech you, Sir, to talk no more of those matters, for I cannot well abide to hear them named, hoping in my Lord, there is no cause nor ever shall to doubt the like in England, especially from these men who are so much bounden to Her Majesty, and so forward in seeking and pursuing of all such as may be thought to be dangerous to Her Majesty's Person, as by sundry late executions we have seen, and by the punishment every way of Papists we may perceive.

True it is (quoth the Gentleman) that Justice hath

been executed upon divers of late, which contenteth me greatly, for the terror or restraint of others, of what Sect or Religion soever they be, and it is most necessary doubtless for the repressing of Parties, that great vigilancy be used in that behalf. But when I consider that only one kind of men are touch'd herein, and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust and watch is of them alone, without reflection of the Eye to any other mens doings and designments: When I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certain Instruments which I like not, bent wholly to raise wonder and admiration to the People, fear, terror and attention to the doings, sayings or meanings of one part, or Faction alone, and of that, namely, and only with these Conspirators esteem'd for most dangerous and opposite to themselves. I am, believe me, often tempted to suspect Frauds and false measures, and that these men deal as Wolves in other countries are wont to do by nature, which going together in great numbers to assail a Flock of Sheep by night, do set some one or two of their Company upon the Wind-side of the Fold afar off, who partly by their scent and other brustlings, which of purpose they make, do draw the Dogs and Shepherd to pursue them alone, whilst the other do enter and slay the whole Flock; or as Rebels that meaning to surprize a Town, to turn away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter, do set on fire some other part of the

Town further off, and do sound a false Alarm at some Gate where is meant least danger; which Art was us'd cunningly by Richard Duke of York in the time of K. Henry the VI. when he, to recover his own intent, brought all the Realm in doubt of the doings of Edmond, Duke of Somerset's Enemy; but John of Northumberland, Father to my Lord of Leicester, us'd the same Art much more skilfully, when he put all England in amaze, and musing of the Protector and his Friends, as tho' nothing could be safe about the young King until they were surpriz'd, and consequently all brought into his own Authority without obstacle. I speak not this to excuse Papists, or to wish them any ways spar'd, wherein they do offend, but only to signify that in a Country where so potent a Faction be, it is not safe to suffer the one to make it self so puissant by pursuit of the other, as afterward the Prince must remain at the devotion of the Stranger, but rather as in a Body molested, and troubl'd with contrary humours, if all cannot be purged, the best Physick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality, as destruction may not be fear'd of the predominant.

To this the Lawyer laughing reply'd, yea, marry Sir, I would to God your opinion might prevail in this matter, for then should we be in other terms than now we are. I was not long sithence in company of a certain, honourable Lady of the Court, who after some speech pass'd by Gentlemen that were present,

of some apprehended, some executed, and such like Affairs, broke into a great complaint of the present times, and therewith I assure you, mov'd all the Hearers to grief, (as we Men you know are potent in stirring of affections) and caus'd them all to wish that her Majesty had been nigh to have heard her words. I do well remember (quoth she) the first dozen years of her Highness's Reign, how happy, how pleasant and quiet they were, with all manner of comfort and consolation. There was no mention then of Factions in Religion, neither was any man much noted or recited for that Cause, if otherwise his conversation were civil and courteous: No suspicion of Treasons, no talk of Bloodshed, no complaint of Troubles, Miseries or Vexations, all was Peace, all was Love, all was Joy, all was Delight; her Majesty, I am sure, took more recreation at that time in one day, than she doth now in a whole week, and we that served her Highness, enjoy'd more contentation in a week, than we can now in divers years. For now there are so many suspicions every where for this thing, and that as we cannot tell whom to trust, so many melancholy in the Court, that seem malecontented, so many complaining and suing for their Friends that are in trouble, other slip over the Sea and retire themselves upon the suddain, so many tales brought up of this or that danger, of this Man suspected, of that Man sent for up; and such like unpleasant and unsavoury stuff, as can never almost be merry one whole day together.

Wherefore, (quoth this Lady) we, that are of her Majesty's Train and especial Service, do not only feel these things in our selves, but much more in the grief of her Majesty, whom we see daily molested herewith, being one of best Natures I am sure, that ever noble Princess was endued withal; we cannot but moan to behold Contentions so far forth advanced as they are, and we could wish most heartily, that for the time to come, these matters might pass with such Peace, Friendship and Tranquility, as they do in other Countries, where difference in Religion breaketh not the Band of good Fellowship, or Fidelity, and this in a smiling manner she spake of, asking Pardon of the Company, if she had spoken over boldly her Opinion like a Woman, To whom answered a Courtier that sate next her, Madam, Your Ladyship hath said nothing in this Behalf, that is not daily debated amongst us in our common Speech in Court, as you know; Your Desire also herein is a publick desire if it might be brought to pass; for there is no man so simple that seeth not how perillous these Contentions and Divisions amongst us may be in the end. And I have heard divers Gentlemen that are learned, discourse at large upon the Argument, alledging old Examples of the Athenians, Lacedemonians, Carthagenians, and Romans; who received notable Dangers, and Destruction also in the end by their Divisions and Factions among themselves, and specially from their own Cities and Countries, who upon Factions

lived abroad with Foreigners, to carry home the Flame of War upon their own Countries. The like they also shewed by the long experience of all the great Cities and States of Italy, which by their Factions and Divisions, were in continual Garboyl, Bloodshed and Misery: Whereof our own Country hath tasted also her part, by the odious Contention between the House of Lancaster and York; wherein it is marvllous to consider, what Troubles, a few men oftentimes departing out of the Realm, were able to work by the part of their Faction, remaining at home (which commonly increaseth towards them that are absent) and by the readiness of foreign Princes to receive also, and comfort such as are discontented in another State, to the end, that by their means, they may hold an Oar in their Neighbour's Boat, with Princes that be nigh Borderers, do always, above all other things most covet and desire. This was the Courtiers Speech and Reason, whereby I perceived, that as well amongst the Court, as amongst us abroad in the Realm, and Countrey, the present Inconvenience, and dangerous Sequel of this our Home-dissention is espied, and consequently most English Hearts, inclined to wish the Remedy and Prevention thereof, by some reasonable Moderation and Re-union amongst our selves. For that the Prosecution of those Differences too extreamly, cannot but after many Wounds and Exulcerations, bring matters finally to Rage, Fury and most deadly

Desperation. Whereas on the other side, if any sweet Qualification, or small Toleration amongst us were admitted, there is no doubt but that Affairs would pass in our Realm, with more Quietness, Safety and publick Weal, of the same, than it is like it will do long; and men would easily be brought, that have English Bowels, to joyn in the Preservation of their Countrey, from Ruine, Bloudshed, and foreign Oppression, which Divisions and Factions are wont to procure.

I am sure of your Opinion (quoth the Gentleman) in that, for I have seen the Experience thereof, and all the World beholdeth the same at this Day: In all the Countries of Germany, Polonia and Hungary, where a little fearing of the one with the other hath wrought them much ease, and continued them in Peace, whereof all Europe besides hath Admiration and Envy. The first douzen Years also of Her Majesty's Reign, whereof the Lady of the Court discoursed before, can well be a Witness of the same, where in the commiseration and lenity that was used towards those of the weaker sort, with a certain sweet diligence for their gaining by good means, was the cause of much Peace, Contentation and other Benefit to the whole Body. We see in France that by over much pressing of one part only, a Fire was kindled not many years ago, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole, had not a necessary mollification been used, and thought upon by the wisest of the

King's Council, full contrary to the Will and Inclination of some great Personages, who meant perhaps to have gained more by the other: And since that time we see, what Peace, Wealth, and Re-union hath ensued in that Countrey, that was so broken, dissevered and wasted before: And all this by yielding a little in that thing, which no force can master, but uxulcerate rather, and make worse, I mean the Conscience, and Judgment of Men in matters of Religion. The like also I could name you in Flanders, where (after all these Broils of so many Years, caused principally by too much striving in such Affairs at the beginning) albeit the King be never so straight-laced in yielding to publick Liberty, and free Exercise on both parts, yet is he descended to this at length, and that upon force of Reason, to abstain from the pursuit and search of other Men's Consciences, not only in the Towns which upon Composition he receiveth, but also where he hath recovered by Force, as he hath in Tournay, and other Places; where I am informed, that no Man is searched, demanded, or molested for his Opinion or Conscience; nor any Act of Papistry, or contrary Religion, required at their hands, but are permitted to live quietly to God and themselves in their own Houses, so that they perform, otherwise that outward Obedience, and Duties toward their Prince and Countrey which they should do. Which only Qualification, Toleration, and Moderation in our Realm (if I be not deceived with many more of my

mind) would content all Divisions, Factions, and Parties amongst us, for their continuance in Peace; be they Papists, Puritans, Familiars, or whatsoever nice difference or Section besides, and would be sufficient to retain all Parties within a temporal Obedience to the Magistrate and Government, for conservation of their Country, which were of no small importance to the contentation of Her Majesty, and Weal publick of the whole Kingdom. But what should I talk of this thing, which is so contrary to the Desires and Designments of our puissant Conspirators? What should Cicero the Senator, use Perswasions to Captain Cataline, and his Crew, that Quietness and Order were better than Hurleyburlies? Is it possible that our Aspirers will ever permit any such Thing, Cause or Matter to be treated in our State, as may tend to the Stability of Her Majesty's present Government. No surely, it standeth nothing with their Wisdom and Policy, especially at this instant, when they have such opportunity of following their own Actions in Her Majesty's Name, under the Vizard and Pretext of her Defence, and Safety, having screwed in every Man's Head both abroad and at home, from Scotland, Flanders, Spain and Ireland, so many intended Murthers, and others so many contrived and conceived Mischiefs, as my Lord of Leicester assureth himself that the troubled Water cannot be clear again in a short space, nor his Baits nor his Lines laid therein easily espied; but rather that hereby, e'relong he will

catch the Fish he gapeth so greedily after, and in the mean time, for the pursuing of these Crimes, and other that he will daily find out, himself must remain perpetual Dictator. But what meaneth this so much inculcating of Troubles, Treasons, Murthers, and Invasions? I like not surely those ominous Speeches, and as I am out of doubt, that Leicester the Caster of these Shadows, doth look to play his part first in these troublesome Affairs: So do I heartily fear that unless the Tyranny of this Leicestrian Fury be speedily stopped, that such misery to Prince and People (which the Lord for his mercies sake turn from us) as never greater fell before to our miserable Country, is far nearer hand than is expected or suspected. And for prevention of these Calamities, I plainly tell you my Opinion (good Friends) and therefore to draw to an end of this our Conference, (for it waxeth late) I would think it the most necessary Point of all, for Her Majesty to call his Lordship to account amongst others, and to see what other men could say against him at length, after so many years of his sole accusing and pursuing others. I know and am very well assured, that no one Act which Her Majesty hath done since her coming to the Crown (as she hath done many most highly to be commended) nor any that likely Her Majesty may do hereafter, can be of more utility to her self, or to her Realm, or more grateful to her faithful and zealous Subjects, than this noble Act of Justice would be, for Trial of this man's

Deserts towards his Country. I say it would be profitable to Her Majesty and the Realm, not only in respect of the many Dangers before mentioned which are like to ensue most certainly if his Courses be permitted still; but also for that Her Majesty shall by this deliver her self from that general Grudge, and Grief of Mind, with great dislike, which many Subjects otherwise most faithful have conceived against the excessive Favour shewed to this man for so many Years without Desert or Reason. Which Favour he having shewed, and used to the hurt, annoyance, and oppression of infinite several Persons, and the whole Commonwealth, as hath been said, the Grief thereof doth redound commonly in such cases, not only upon the Person delinquent alone, but also upon the Sovereign, by whose Favour and Authority he offereth such Injuries, though never so much against the others Intent, Will, Desiring, and Meaning. And hereof we have Examples of sundry Princes in all Ages, and Countries, whose exorbitant Favour to some wicked Subject that abused the same, hath been the cause of great danger and ruine, the sins of the Favourites being returned and reveng'd upon the Favourer. As in the History of the Grecians is declared by the occasion of this pittiful murther of that wise and victorious Prince, Philip of Macedon, who albeit he were well assur'd to have given no offence of himself to any of his Subjects, and consequently fearing nothing, but conversed openly and

confidently amongst them, yet for that he had favour'd too much one Duke Attalus, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had born him out in certain of his wickedness, or at least not punish'd them after they were detected and complain'd upon, the Parties griev'd, accounting the Crime more proper, and heinous on the part of him, who by office should do Justice, and protect others, than of the Perpetrator, who follow'd his own passion and sensuality; let pass Attalus, and made their revenge upon the Blood and Life of the King himself, by one Pausonias suborn'd for that purpose on the marriage day of the King's own Daughter. Great store of like examples might be repeated out of the Stories of other Countries, nothing being more usual or frequent amongst all Nations than the afflictions of Realms and Kingdoms, and the overthrow of great Princes and Potentates themselves by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons. A thing indeed so common and ordinary, as it may well seem to be the speciallest rock of all other whereat Kings and Princes do make their Shipwreck. For if we look into the States and Monarchies of all Christendom, and consider the ruines that have been of any Prince or Ruler in the same, we shall find this point to have been a great and principal cause thereof. And in our own State and Country, the matter is too too evident; for whereas since the Conquest we number principally their just and lawful Kings which have

come to confusion by alienation of their Subjects (that is Edward the II. Richard the II. and Henry the VI.) this only point of too much favour towards wicked persons, was the cause of destraction in all three. As in the first, the expressive favour towards Peter Graveston, and two of the Spencers; and in the second, the extraordinary and indisnary, and in discreet affection towards Robert Dere, Earl of Oxford, and Marquess of Dublin, and Thomas Mowbray, two most turbulent and wicked Men that set themselves against his own Uncles and the Nobility; the third be.ng a simple and Holy Man, albeit no great exorbitant affection was seen towards any, yet his Wife, Queen Margaret's, too much favour and cridit to the Marquis of Suffolk that after was made Duke, by whost instinct and wicked Counsel she made away first the noble Duke of Gloucester, and afterwards committed many other things in great prejudice to the Realm, and suffer'd the same most impious and wicked Duke to range and make havock of all sorts of Subjects at his pleasure, much after the fashion of the Earl of Leicester now tho' not set in so high and extream a degree. This I say was the principal and original cause both before God and Man, (as Polidore well noteth of all the calamity and extream desolation which after ensued both to the King, Queen and their only Child, with the utter extirpation of their Family,) and so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or grief at this day any dislike, any

repining, complaint or murmur against her Majesty's Government, in the hearts of her true and faithful Subjects, who wish amendment of that which is amiss, and not the overthrow of that which is well, (as I know it were no wisdom to imagin there were none at all) I dare avouch upon Conscience, that either all or the greatest part proceedeth from this man, who by the favour of her Majesty so afflicteth her People as never did before, either Graveston, Spencer, Dere, Mowbray, or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abuseth most his Prince's favour within the Realm of England whereby it is evident how profitable a thing it would be to the whole Realm in Common, how honourable to her Majesty, and how grateful to all her Subjects, if this man at length might be call'd to his account.

Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) you alledge great Treason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Majesty did know but the tenth part of this which you have here spoken, as also her good Subjects desires and complaint in this behalf, she would well shew that her Highness feared not to permit Justice to pass upon Leicester, or any other within her Realm, for satisfaction of her People, howsoever otherwise of her own mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, she have born with him hitherto; for so we see that wise Princes can do at times convenient, for Peace, Tranquility and publick Weale, tho' contrary to their own particular and peculiar Inclination. And to go no farther than

to the last example named and alledged by your self before, tho Queen Margaret, the Wife of King Henry the VI. had favour'd most unfortunately many years together William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, whereby he committed many foul outrages, and afflicted the Realm by sundry means; yet she being a Woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Commonalty demand Justice upon him for his demerits, albeit she liked and loved the man still, yet for satisfaction of the people upon so general a complaint, she was contented first to commit him to Prison, and afterwards to banish him the Realm. But the Providence of God would not let him so escape, for he being encountred and taken upon the Sea in his passage, he was beheaded in the Ship, and so receiv'd some part of condigne punishment, for his wicked, loose, and licentious Life. And to seek no more examples in this case, we know into what favour and special grace Sir E. Dudley, my Lord of Leicester's good Grandfather, was crept with King Henry the VII. in the latter end of his reign, and what intolerable wickedness and mischief he wrought against the whole Realm, and against infinite in particular persons of the same, by the prowlings oppressions which he practised, whereby, tho the King receiv'd great Temporal Commodity at that time, (as her Majesty doth nothing at all by the present extortions of his Nephew) yet for Justice sake and meer Compassion towards his afflicted Subjects, that complain'd

greivously of his Iniquity, that most virtuous and wise Pr. King Henry, was content to put from him this lewd Instrument, and divelish Suggestor of new exactions, whom his Son Henry that succeeded in the Crown, caused presently, before all other businesies, to be called publickly to account, and for his deserts to lose his Head ; so as the interest of a whole Realm or Common Cause, of many taketh place : The private Favour of any cannot stay a wise and godly Prince, such as all the world knoweth her Majesty to be, from permitting Justice to have her free passage.

Truly it should (quoth the Gentleman) for to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that consideration do Subjects pay them both Tribute and Obedience, to be defended by them from Injuries and Oppressions, and to see Laws executed, and Justice exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of Leicester, I do not see in Right and Equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawful Desire and Petition of her People. For if her Highness do permit and command the Laws duly to pass upon Thieves and Murtherers without exception, and that for one fact only, as by experience we see, how then can it be deny'd in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormious acts than may well be recounted. As in the first of Theft, not only by spoiling and oppressing of infinite private men, but also whole Towns and Villages, Corporations and Countries, by Robbing the Realm by inordinate

Licences, by deceiving the Crown, by raking, changing and imbezling the Lands, in abusing the Prince and Soveraign, in selling her favour both at home and abroad, with taking Bribes for matter of Justice, Grace, Request, Supplication, or whatever suit else that dependeth upon the Court, or of the Princes Favour or Authority, with putting to sale and making open Market of whatsover her Majesty can give, do or procure, be it Spiritual or Temporal: In which sort of Trafik, he comiteth more Theft in one day, than all the Way-keepers, Cut-purses, Cozeners, Pyrats, Burglaries, or other of that Art in a whole year within the Realm. And as for the second, which is Murther, you have heard somewhat said before and proved, but yet nothing to that which is thought to have been in secret committed upon divers occasions, at divers times, in sundry Persons of different Calling in both Sexes, by most variable means of Killing, Poysoning, Charming, Enchanting, Coniving, and the like, according to the diversity of Men, Places, Opportunities and Instruments for the same. By all which means, I think he hath more Blood lying upon his Head at this day crying for vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty's, than ever had private man in our Country before, were he never so wicked. Whereunto now if we add his other good behaviour, as his intolerable Licentiousness, in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sorts of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen; if we add his injuries

and dishonours done hereby to infinite; if we add his Treasons, Treacheries and Conspiracies about the Crown, his disloyal behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjuring himself in all matters for his gain, both great and small, his Rapes and most violent Extortions upon the Poor, his abusing of the Parliament and other places of Justice, with the Nobility and whole Commonalty besides. If we add also his open injuries which he offereth daily to Religion, and the Ministers thereof, by Tything them and turning all to his own gain, together with his manifest and known Tyranny practised towards all Estates abroad throughout all shires of the Kingdom: His dispoiling of both Universities, and discouraging of infinite notable Wits there, for seeking perfection of Knowledge and Learning, which otherwise were like to become notable, especially in God's word, which giveth Life unto the Soul; by defrauding them of the price and reward propos'd for their Travel in that kind, through his unsatiable symonatical contracts; If I say we should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might, and would be gathered, if this day of Tryal were but in hope to be granted, I do not see in Equity and Reason, how her Highness sitting in Throne, and at the Royal Stern, as she doth; could deny her Subjects this most lawful request, considering that every one of these crimes a part requireth Justice of

his own nature, and much more altogether, ought to obtain the same at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World. No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her excellent Majesty, whose tender Heart towards her Realm and Subjects, is very well known to all Men. It is not to be thought also but that her Highness hath her intelligence of divers of these matters alledged, tho' not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty do? Perhaps the consultation of this affair, is not what were convenient, but is expedient, not what ought to be done in Justice, but what may be done in Safety. You have described my Lord before to be a great Man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events, what if it be not convenient to bark at the Bear that is so well———— I speak unto you but that which I hear in Cambridge and other places, where I have passed, where every Mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choice to do what her self best listeth in that case at this day.

I know (said the Gentleman) that Leicester's Friends give out every where, that her Majesty now is their good Lords Prisoner, and that she will, and must be directed by him for the time to come, except she will do worse; which thing his Lordship is very well contented should be spread abroad and believed, for two causes; the one to hold the people thereby

more in awe of himself than of their Soveraign; and secondly, to draw her Majesty indeed by degrees to fear him. For considering with himself what he hath done, and that it is impossible in truth that ever her Majesty should love him again, or trust him after so many Treacheries, as he well knoweth are come to her Majesty's understanding, but by terror and opinion of his puissant greatness, whereby he would hold her Highness and the Realm in Thraldom, as his Father did in his time before him, and then for that he well remembereth the true saying of Cicero in his Offices: *Malus custos diuturnitatis metus*, he must provide shortly that those that fear him, be not able to hurt him, and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King Edward, who feared Duke Dudley extreamly, for that he had cut off his two Unkles Heads, and the Duke took order that he should never live to revenge the same. For it is a settled rule of Machiavel observed by the Dudley's that where you have done once great injury, there must you never forgive. But I will tell you my Friends, and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speak herein, and am privy to the Estate of my Lord in this behalf, and of Mens opinions and affections towards him within the Realm; most certain it is that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince, in respect whereof he is admitted also for chief Patron of the Huntingdon Faction, tho' neither lov'd, nor greatly trusted for the same, but let her Majesty once turn

her Countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speak but the word only that Justice shall take place against him, and I will undertake, with gaging both my life, and little land that God hath given me, that without Stir or Trouble, or any Danger in the World, the Bear shall be taken at Her Majesty's Hand, and fast chained to a Stake, with Muzzel, Cord, Collar, Ring, and all things necessary, so that Her Majesty shall bait him at her Pleasure, without all danger of biting, breaking loose, or any other Inconvenience whatsoever. For you must not think that this Man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realm, but by violence, and that only upon her Majesties Favour, and Countenance towards him: He hath not any thing of his own, either from his Ancestors or of himself to stay upon: In Men's Hearts and Conceits, he hath not ancient Nobility as others of our Realm have, whereby Men's Affections are greatly moved; his Father John Dudley was the first Noble of his Line, who raised and made himself big by supplanting of others, and by setting Debate amongst the Nobility: As also his Grandfather Edmund a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Pettifogger, enriched himself by other Men's Ruines, both of them condemned Traytors, tho' different in Quality, the one being a Cozener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conjoined, conclosed and comprised, with many more Additions in this Man (or Beast rather) which is Robert the Third of

their Kindred and Kind; so that from his Ancestors this Lord receiveth neither Honour nor Honesty, but only Succession of Treason and Infamy. And yet in himself hath he much less of good wherewith to procure to himself Love or Credit amongst Men, than these Ancestors of his had, he being a Man wholly abandoned of humane Vertue, and devoted to Wickedness, which maketh Men odious both to God and Man. In his Father no doubt there were to be seen many excellent good Parts, if they had been joined with Faith, Honesty, Moderation and Loyalty; for all the World knoweth that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and assured friendly where he once promised; of all which vertues, my Lord his Son hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certain false Representation of the former; being crafty and subtil to deceive, and ingenious to Wickedness; and as for Valour, he hath as much as a Mouse, his Magnanimity, is base Sordity, his Liberality Rapine, his Friendship plain Fraud, holding only for his Gain and not otherwise, though it were bound with a thousand Oaths, of which he maketh as great account, as Hens do of cackling, but only for his Commodity; using them especially in greatest number, when he meaneth to deceive; namely, if he swear solemnly by his George, or by the Eternal God, then be sure it is a false Lie, for these are Observations in the Court, and sometimes in his Lodging: In like case his manner is to take up and swear by the Bible, whereby a Gentle-

man of good account, and one that seemed to follow him (as many do that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space he observed him wittingly and willingly to be forsworn Sixteen times. This Man therefore so contemptible by his Ancestors, so odible of himself, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the Country, and not trusted of his own dearest Friends, nay (which I am privy to) so misliked and hated of his own Servants about him, for his beastly Life, Niggardize and Atheism, (being never yet seen to say one private Prayer within his Chamber in his Life) as they design nothing so much in the World, as his Ruine, and that they may be first to lay hands upon him for Revenge. This Man I say so broken within, and without, it is impossible that Her Majesty and wise Council should fear; I can never believe it. Or if it be so it is Gods permission without all doubt for Punishment of that his Wickedness and Sin, which is both rooted in, and rested on him; so that when this Man shall perceive indeed they fear him, then will he handle them accordingly, and play the Bear indeed; which Inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent: And so I leave it to God and them, craving Pardon of my Lord of Leicester for my boldness, if I have been too plain with him. And so I pray you let us go to Supper, for I see my Servant expecteth yonder at the Door of the Gallery to call us down.

To that (said the Lawyer) I am content with all my heart, and I would it had been sooner, for that I am afraid least any by chance have over-heard us here since Night. For mine own part I must say, that I have not been at such a Conference this seven years, or mean to be hereafter, if I may scape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dream this Fortnight; and think oftner of my Lord of Leicester, than ever I had intended, God amend him and me both. But if ever I hear at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quack-breech, and think every Bush a Boggle.

THE END.

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